

This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + Refrain from automated querying Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at http://books.google.com/





ESSAYS

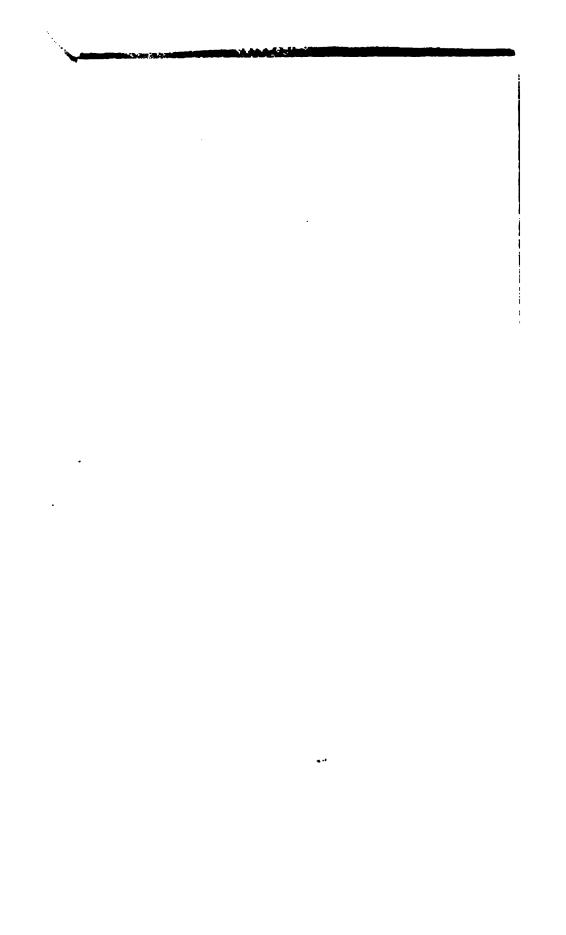
IN

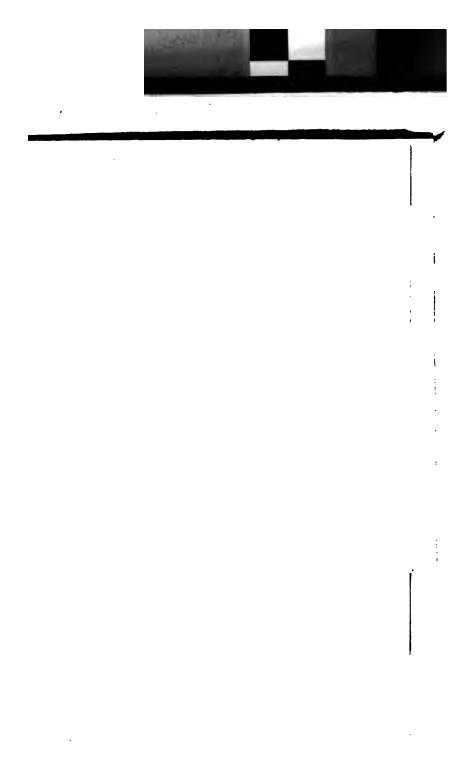
BIBLICAL AND PATRISTIC CRITICISM

Fondon HENRY FROWDE



Oxford University Press Warehouse Amen Corner, E.C.





STUDIA

BIBLICA ET ECCLESIASTICA

ESSAYS

CHIEFLY

IN BIBLICAL AND PATRISTIC CRITICISM

, BY

MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

VOLUME II

Oxford

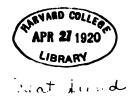
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

M DCCC XC

[All rights reserved]



Bi 719.3



Oxford

PRINTED AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
BY HORACE HART, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

PREFACE.

THE present volume is a further instalment of a number of Essays which have accumulated in a rather leisurely way since the publication of the first series of Studia Biblica in 1885. It is hoped that a third volume may follow shortly. It will be seen that, as in the first series, the Essays are not all of the same character. Some are a survey of work already done; others break more or less new ground. If some of the points discussed appear minute and technical, this will not, we think, need any justification to those who are accustomed to historical inquiry. It is just these minuter points which often furnish the clue for wider investigations, and so either change the face of familiar history or enable us to penetrate into regions hitherto unexplored. Neither do we feel much called upon to justify the attaching to some of the Essays both in this and the coming volume of a perhaps unusual number of Appendices and notes not always by the same hand as the Essay to which they belong. We hope that they will be taken as evidence (1) of a desire to keep pace with the ever-growing body of knowledge, and (2) of the spirit of co-operation in which the work has been done. In view of this spirit and of the increasing number of students who are turning their attention seriously to Theology, it is not likely that there would be any dearth of materials for future volumes if the reception given to those which are now appearing should be such as to encourage the continuance of the series. Our hearty thanks are due to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for their willingness to undertake a publication which has but little prospect of being remunerative, however much it may serve to stimulate and promote the studies with which it is connected.

A slight addition has been made to the title of the series, so as to cover more accurately a rather miscellaneous collection of subjects. The fifth of these is part of a prize essay, read according to custom in the Divinity School; the last essay was read to a diocesan society at Salisbury, and the appendix to it before the Oxford Philological Society; the remainder were read in the manner described in the preface to the preceding volume. Many other papers have been read which have been either published in periodicals or incorporated in larger works.

Our thanks are due to Mr. C. H. Turner for help in the final correction of the proofs.

S. R. DRIVER. T. K. CHEYNE. W. SANDAY.

CONTENTS.

	•
PAGE	
1	I. The Authorship and the Titles of the Psalms according to early Jewish authorities
	AD. NEUBAUER, M.A., Exeter College, Reader in Rabbinical Literature and Sub-Librarian of the Bodleian Library, &c. May 20, 1889.
	I. The Origin and Mutual Relation of the Synoptic
59	Gospels
98	Synoptic Table
105	I. The Day and Year of St. Polycarp's Martyrdom . C. H. TURNER, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College; Oct. 31, 1887.
130	Appendix I. On a Paschal Homily printed in St. Chrysostom's works, ascribed by Ussher to A. D. 672, but really belonging to A. D. 387
149	Appendix II. Passages from Ancient Writers who employ Kalendars of the Asiatic type, giving side by side a Roman and a native dating
151	Note.—On the new matter contained in the Second Edition (1889) of Bishop Lightfoot's Apostolic Fathers (Part ii. St. Ignatius, St. Polycarp, vol. i.
101	pp. 626–722)
157	C. Bigg, D.D., late Student of Christ Church;

• • •
VIII

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
V. The Evidence of the Early Versions and Patristic	
Quotations on the Text of the Books of the New	
Testament	195
Ll. J. M. Bebb, M.A., Fellow of Brasenose	•
College; June 13, 1888.	
Note.—W. S	240
VI. The Ammonian Sections, Eusebian Canons, and Har-	
monizing Tables in the Syriac Tetraevangelium .	241
G. H. GWILLIAM, B.D., Fellow of Hertford	
College; March 8, 1886. (With facsimile.)	
Appendix I	267
Appendix II	270
" " Note	271
Additional Note.—W. S	272
VII. The Codex Amiatinus and its Birthplace	273
H. J. WHITE, M.A., Christ Church; Dec. 3,	
1889.	
Appendix. On the Italian Origin of the Codex Ami-	
atinus and the Localizing of Italian MSS	309
W. SANDAY, M.A., Exeter College, Dean	
Ireland's Professor of Exegesis; Nov. 29,	
1889.	

THE AUTHORSHIP AND THE TITLES OF THE PSALMS ACCORDING TO EARLY JEWISH AUTHORITIES.

[Ad. NEUBAUER.]

Whatever dates may be assigned to the various books of the Old Testament, there can be no doubt that the narrative parts of it contain many old reminiscences, and if so, we may take it for granted that the Hebrews from the earliest time of their settlement in the promised land made use of musical instruments, and consequently of some kind of singing. We do not intend to lay great stress upon the passage 1 in which a writer seeks to trace the invention of musical instruments to Tubal-Cain. But music was generally used in cases of rejoicing, private as well as public. Isaiah exclaimed²: 'And the harp and the lute, the tabret and the pipe, and wine are in their feasts; and in another passage we read3: 'The mirth of tabrets ceaseth, the noise of them that rejoice endeth, the joy of the harp ceaseth.' An earlier prophet says4: 'that sing idle songs to the sound of the viol; that devise for themselves instruments of music, like David.' Here we see that the early prophet of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes ascribes to David⁵ the highest perfection in using musical instruments; this statement probably gave rise to the idea that the great king was the unlimited author of the Psalms. One of the great losses with the destruction of the first Temple is said to be, that 'the elders have ceased from the

¹ Gen. iv. 21. ² Is. v. 12. ³ Is. xxiv. 8. ⁴ Amos vi. 5.

Unless the name has here some mythological reference, e.g. Dod. VOL. II.
B

gate. The young men from their music 1.' On the other hand, one of the delights of the author of Ecclesiastes (a work without doubt written after the return from the captivity) was, as he says2: 'I gat me men singers and women singers.' Of course the use of musical instruments was not confined to the Hebrews only. It is mentioned by a prophet, writing during the exile, in connection with the Babylonians, when he says of their proud king 3: 'Thy pomp is brought down to hell, and the noise of thy viols.' In the book of Daniel also musical instruments are mentioned on the occasion of public performances in Babylon: 'To you it is commanded, O peoples, nations, and languages, that at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer, and all kinds of music, ye will fall down and worship the golden For public occasions with the Hebrews, we may refer to the consecration of Solomon as the successor of David, where it is said 5: 'And all the people came up after him, and the people piped with pipes, and rejoiced with great joy.' And when Jehoshaphat returned from a successful war against the Moabites and the Ammonites, we find, at least in the Chronicles, the following statement 6: 'And they came to Jerusalem with psalteries and harps and trumpets unto the house of the Lord.' The prophets recited their visions under the influence of music 7, and this art was also employed to cure depression of spirit8. It would seem that in the earliest period the performances of music, together with dances, were given mostly by women, such as was the case with Miryam', the daughter of Jephthah 10, and the women who came to greet David 11. The same was the case in Phoenicia 12, as well as in Greece and Italy 13. Perhaps the earliest prophecies were spoken by women, as might be concluded from the names of

Miryam, of Deborah, and in later times of Huldah, whose influence must have been great, even at the time when the new book of the Law was found.

Whether musical instruments were employed in the service of the first Temple, we have no authentic evidence. chronicler² informs us that David introduced a regular service in the Temple, in which the various classes of the Levites took part with different instruments at the occasion of the various sacrifices3. But the statements of the author of Chronicles, writing about 300 B.C., are scarcely an authority for the period earlier than that of the Temple built by Zerubbabel. However, with the spirit of conservatism amongst the Jews, it would not be too hazardous to suppose that the service of the Temple of Zerubbabel was in a certain respect modelled on that used in the Temple of Solomon. If it were certain that the word 'song' (שיר), in the words of the 137th Psalm, 'Sing us one of the songs of Zion,' means a Psalm, which is possible and even probable, since many of the Psalms are headed by the word 'song,' one might conclude that the captives were required to sing, accompanied with the harp, one of the Psalms used in the Temple of Zion. To speak with certainty concerning the liturgies in the Temple, it can only be said that Talmudic traditions mention a number of Psalms which were recited during the service of the Herodian It is true that these traditions were collected after the destruction of this Temple, nevertheless a great part of them were preserved orally from doctors who witnessed the service of the Temple; moreover, these traditions contain also information concerning other parts of the Temple service besides the use of the Psalms, information which agrees with the data of Josephus, who wrote as an eye-witness, and therefore the Talmudic traditions may be taken as authentic. Adding to these arguments the conservatism proper to the

^{1 2} Kings xxii. 14; Cheyne, Jeremiah, his Life and Times, p. 52.

² I Chron. xvi. 4; xxv. I.

³ 2 Chron. v. 12; vii. 6; xxix. 25; xxx. 21; xxxv. 15.

Jewish nation, one may conclude that in the pre-Herodian Temple Psalms were already sung with an accompaniment of Josephus indeed speaks² of the Levite ὑμυφδοί, and according to the Talmud the singing of the Levites formed a vital part of the various services. Thus it is said in the Mishnah3: 'The moment they gave to the priest the wine of outpouring, the Segan stood in the corner (near the priest) with two flags in his hands; two priests, standing near the table where the fat was lying, with two silver trumpets in their hands, were blowing a loud alarm with the trumpets. They then drew near to Ben Arza, one on each side. When the priest bowed down to pour out the wine, the Segan gave a sign with the flags, Ben Arza beat with the cymbal, and the Levites recited the song. When they came to the end of the song (Psalm) the priests blew the trumpet, and the people fell upon their faces. This was done for each pause during the service of the daily sacrifice.' The next Mishnah enumerates the Psalms used during the week in the Temple, viz. Sundays, Ps. xxiv; Mondays, xlviii; Tuesdays, lxxxii; Wednesdays, xciv; Thursdays, lxxxi; Fridays, xciii; and on the Sabbath, xcii. Indeed the Greek translation of the Psalms has in the superscriptions most of these indications of the days?; the Hebrew text has only the one for the Sabbath, viz. Ps. xcii. Whether the other superscriptions were omitted purposely, as Dr. Graetz thinks, or whether the omissions are the work of a careless copyist, must be left an open question. We believe the last to be the case, for no reason whatever can be given for an intentional omission, unless we accept an hypothesis which will be found later on?. In another Mishnah 10 it is said on the occasion of the feast of

¹ Graetz, Kritischer Commentar zu den Psalmen (1882), p. 53.
² Ant. xx. ix. 6.
³ Thamid vii. 3.

⁴ The locum tenens.

⁵ I. e. various tunes of the trumpets.

⁶ One of the most skilful musicians.

⁷ Viz. 48 (47); 94 (93); 93 (92); 91 (90).

* Loc. cit. (note 1), p. 89.

⁹ See p. 5.

¹⁰ Sukkah v. 4.

Waterpouring1: 'The pious and men of good deeds2 were dancing before the spectators, holding torches in their hands and reciting songs and praises. The Levites, with harps, nabla, cymbals, trumpets, and other instruments, were without number on the fifteen steps which lead from the hall of Israel to the hall of the women, reciting songs.' Again, for the service of the Paschal lamb, it is said in the Mishnah3 that 'batches of men one after another followed with their sacrifice, and before going out they recited the Hallel Psalms (cxiii to cxvii).' In another Mishnah the minimum and maximum of the sounds of trumpets and of instruments used for the service of the sacrifices are given. instructions are given in other Mishnahs⁵. Single Psalms were used on new-moon days 6, on the feast of Dedication 7, and even for the occasion when Jerusalem was enlarged 8. One might have expected to find superscriptions mentioning these various occasions, but they were probably omitted because all the Levites knew the Psalms which were used; however, in some copies they may have stood for teaching purposes, and such a copy the Greek translators may have had before them in a foreign country, where the service was not so well known as in Palestine, and more especially in Jerusalem. Unfortunately our Massoretic text is made from copies which had not all superscriptions, as far as I can judge from the earliest Jewish translators and commentators.

Other headings have reference undoubtedly to instruments used for accompanying the singers, many of which are difficult to explain. A certain number of headings give a kind of historical introduction to show on what occasion the Psalms in question were composed. Such are Psalms iii, vii (?), xviii,

¹ John vii. 37. ² The meaning of the words אנשי מעשה is not certain.

Pesaḥim v. 7. Erakhin ii. 3.

⁵ Rosh hash-Shanah iv. 1, 0.

⁶ B. T. Sukkah, fol. 54 b. Pss. civ and cv according to Masekheth Sopherim xvii. 11 (Dr. J. Müller's note, 40, p. 247).

⁷ Ps. xxxi according to Mas. Sopherim xviii. 2, which is most likely meant by the heading of this Psalm.

⁹ Graetz, Psalmen etc., p. 60.

xli, lii, lvi, lvii, lix, lx, lxiii, and cxlii. How far back the headings date it is not our object to investigate here. They are certainly added by the compiler, and before the Greek translation, which is much later than that of the Pentateuch. These translators, however, were not then acquainted with the exact meaning of them.

But before proceeding to the exposition of the titles, as given by Rabbinical and Karaitical authors, it will perhaps be worth while to state their opinion concerning the authorship of the Psalms.

We possess no early Midrash on the Psalms; the Midrash Tilim is the earliest, of the end of the tenth century¹, and even there we find nothing concerning the authorship of the book of the Psalms. The earliest passage concerning it is the famous one in the Babylonian Talmud², relating to the order of the Old Testament and to the authors of the various books. Here it is said that David wrote Tilim with the help³ of ten elders, viz. Adam, Melchizedek, Abraham, Moses, Heman, Jeduthun, Asaph, and the three sons of Korah. On the question made why Ethan is not mentioned, Rab (who lived in the third century) replied that Ethan was identical with Abraham; this is explained by Agadical analogy. Another question was asked to the effect that Moses and Heman are identical according to the Agadah; Rab, however, stated the contrary.

In the Midrash on the Canticles we find the following statement: 'Ten men said the Psalms, viz. Adam, Abraham, Moses, David, Solomo, to these five all agree. For the other five, Rab says, Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun, the three sons of Korah (who make one author), and Ezra. R. Johanan said, Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun (who make one), the

¹ Zunz, Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge, p. 266 sqq. A new critical edition is expected from the skilful hand of Herr S. Buber.

² Baba Bathra, fol. 14 b.

³ The exact meaning of ילירי is not certain here. See below, p. 28.

 $^{^4}$ iv. 4. Belongs probably to the end of the ninth century. Zunz, G. V. (note 1), p. 64.

three sons of Korah, and Ezra. Elsewhere we find the opinion of Rab attributed to Johanan and vice versa¹, which is of no importance for our purpose. R. Hoonâ, in the name of R. Aḥa, speaks as follows: 'Although ten men said Tilim, they were not reported in their names, but only in David's name. This resembles the case of a band of singers who intended to address hymns to a king, and to whom the king answered, "You are all sweet, all pious men, all worthy to sing hymns before me, but this man will sing them for you, because his voice is so sweet." Thus, when these ten pious men sought to recite Tilim, God said, "You are sweet, pious, and worthy to say hymns before me, but David will recite them for you all, for his voice is sweeter, as it is said, And the sweet psalmist of Israel²."'

That David said some Psalms, or all of them, by the Holy Spirit, is not distinctly stated in the Talmudic literature, so far as we know, but it may be taken as implied in the continuation of the passage just mentioned, which is as follows 5: 'R. Eliezer (who lived at the end of the first century) said, David said all the Psalms on his own account; R. Joshuah said, on the account of the congregation; the wise men, i.e. the majority of the school, made a compromise, saying, some of them are said on account of himself, and others on account of the congregation, viz. those Psalms in which the singular form is employed David said on account of himself, and where the plural form is to be found he said on account of

¹ See the Commentary with the title of Mathnoth Kehunah.

⁴ Perhaps אָלָּר, the א disappearing in the pronunciation.

⁵ B. T. Pesahim, fol. 117 a.

the congregation; when the words כנון occur, the Psalm refers to the future; משכיל means recited by an interpreter; לרור משמר לרור משמר לרור משמר לרור משמר שוסח him when he said the song; שכינה means that David first said the Psalm and then the Holy Spirit rested upon him¹.' The Holy Spirit is explained by the word שכינה The gospels also imply the belief that the IIoth Psalm was said by David in the Holy Spirit². We shall find that mediæval Jewish commentators in agreement with the rabbis attribute the Psalms to David speaking under the influence of the Holy Spirit.

For completeness sake we shall just state that in the same Talmudic passage ten classes of Psalms are spoken of. They are introduced, it is there said, with ten expressions, נינון, נינון, משכיל, משרי, שיר, שיר, שיר, אשרי, הודאה, ההראה, החלה, הודאה, and הללויה. This last is the most important, because these Psalms contain both song and prose. Let us state at once that no real help is to be derived in the interpretations of the titles of the Psalms from Talmudic and Midrashic sources; these contain nothing but Agadic or legendary explanations, which are quite arbitrary, and we shall see the same method followed in the Syriac translation 3 of the Psalms. The Talmudic doctors were not exegetes in a strict sense. They torture a scripture text for casuistical deductions, but they are much more reckless and unphilological in their Agadic expositions, which may be compared to a kind of sermon. One of the completest collections of their interpretation of the Psalms in general is the Yalqoot of Makhir ben Abba Mari, probably of the fourteenth century, which embodies all the sayings of the two Talmuds and the Midrashim concerning the Psalms. It exists in a

¹ With later commentators the order of these two words makes no difference. See, for instance, Yephet to Ps. lxxxviii and Ibn Ezra to Ps. xlviii.

² Matt. xxii. 43, where the words $\tau \hat{\varphi}$ 'A $\gamma i \varphi$ are omitted but found in Mark xii. 36. In Luke xx. 42, as well as in Acts ii. 34, the Holy Spirit does not occur at all. Was it because it was a pure Judaic belief?

³ See p. 9.

unique MS. in the Bodleian Library 1, and deserves to be published.

The earliest sources for our object are the Greek translations of the LXX, of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, which we include for completeness sake, and because they must be counted as Jewish documents². The Syriac version, called Peshitto, made probably as early as the end of the second century (in the fourth century it is already considered as canonical), although made with the help of a Jew from the Hebrew text, and therefore for critical purposes important, has no value for the superscriptions, which are arbitrary. These are twofold, partly historical, partly exegetical, and are most likely, as Professors Nestle³ and Baethgen 4 have shown convincingly, by Theodore of Mopsuestia, who, accepting some from Eusebius and Origen, made many additions of his own. In fact, Dr. Isaac Prager 5, who aimed to show, by the analogy of Agadic passages with the contents of the Syriac, that they are of Jewish origin, is evidently wrong. For, as Professor Nestle rightly says, the Agadic passages have no kind of superscription; to which it may be added that the Pirge de R. Eliezer, the Midrash Tilim, the Yalqoot, and even the Thanhuma, on which Dr. Prager bases his arguments, are of a later date than Theodore of Mopsuestia, and if there has been borrowing on either side, it will be the Midrash that has borrowed and not Theodore. The Itala and the Vulgate, although made by Christians, may be considered, by the help derived from Jews, as belonging to Jewish interpretation, and are therefore given here. The Aramaic Targum is paraphrastic like Jonathan, and made probably by a Jew who had some knowledge of

¹ No. 167 of the catalogue of 1886. On Makhir's Yalqoot on other Biblical books, see Rerue des Études Juires, t. xiv, p. 95 sqq.

² These are given according to Field's excellent edition of the Hexapla.

³ Theologische Litteraturzeitung, 1876, col. 283.

⁴ Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (Stade), 1885, p. 66 sqq.

⁵ De veteris Testamenti versione syriaca quam Peschittho vocant, part I, Goettingae, 1875, pp. 52-56.

Greek in the fourth century. It is certainly not based upon a Syriac translation as the Targum of Proverbs is. Samuel ben Meir (twelfth century)² erroneously attributes the Targums on the Hagiographa to R. Joseph (died 325 A.D.). Anyhow the Targum on the Psalms represents Jewish interpretation, and we give it with an English translation.

Between this Targum and the commentary of R. Saadyah 3 Gaon (died 940) there is a blank. That there were earlier commentaries than Saadyah's may be seen from his contemporary Karaitic author, Salmon son of Yeroham, who gives interpretations of predecessors besides Saadyah, but without mentioning their names 4. So does Yepheth 5. No doubt many quotations in these authors may be taken from lexicons 6. But Abraham ibn Ezra quotes opinions of Jeshuah 7, who is earlier, if not much earlier, than Saadyah 8. Indeed with the Karaites exeges in its strict sense begins, and we know that Benjamin of Nehawend (beginning of the ninth century) wrote commentaries on Biblical books 9, but they are all lost at present. Thus we must take as the earliest commentary we possess that of Saadyah, of which we give the translation of the titles according to the MS. in the Bodleian Library 10. It seems that there were two editions of this commentary, a shorter and a longer, or a first and a second 11, of which the Bodleian MS. contains the shorter, to judge from the Munich MS., which comprises two prefaces, a longer and a shorter, as well as a longer commentary on the first three Psalms 12. The shorter has nothing on the titles or authorship of the Psalms; this is to be found in the longer preface, of which we give

¹ He has pro for God, Κύριος, Ps. liii.
² Zunz, G. V., p. 65.

³ Strictly S'adyah. See Catal. Oxf., No. 1438.

⁴ See p. 39.

⁵ See p. 40.
⁶ See p. 34.
⁷ Ps. lxxxviii. See p. 54.

⁸ See Aus. der Pet. Bibl., p. 7. 1bidem, p. 6.

¹⁰ Catal. Oxf., No. 104.

¹¹ See Catalogue of Hebrew MSS. in the Bodleian Library, No. 28.

¹³ See Dr. J. Cohn's essay with the title of Saadia's Einleitung zu seinem Psalmencommentar in the Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums, viii. pp. 1-19 and 61-91.

a translation according to the Munich MS.¹ That this preface is indeed by Saadyah has not only been proved from the agreement with his philosophic-theological book ², but his Karaitic contemporary Salmon actually quotes a passage agreeing with it, and refutes Saadyah's opinion contained in it ³.

After having remarked that God leads man to perfection by five forms of speech, viz. by similitude, question, narration, commandment and prohibition, humble request and prayer, and that all these forms are contained in the Psalms, Sandyah says that David prepared the building of the Temple by his son, and began by entrusting the Levites with a permanent charge for the speedy continuation of the building. This is what is meant by the word למנצח (1 Chron. xxiii. 4), and also by המשררים (I Chron. ix. 33). At that time God revealed to him this book, which we call the book of praise, because it contains special songs, to be executed by special men, in a fixed place, accompanied by special instruments and with fixed melodies, as I shall explain with the aid of God. This revelation was made to David, the father of the kings and a prophet, in consequence of his great merit, as it is said 4, 'I have found David my servant; with my holy oil have I anointed him,' to the end of the chapter. The divine inspiration of David began thus at the time of his anointing, as it is said 5, 'And the Spirit of the Lord came upon David from that day forward.' This explains why so many of the titles of the Psalms refer to the period of his election as king, partly before he began to reign, and partly after that event. Thus as the wanderings of the Israelites are fully described 6 with all their vicissitudes, in order to show how the Almighty bestows help on the

A copy of this preface was put at our disposal by Dr. J. Cohn, for which we express to him our best thanks. For the collation of the text with the MS. we are indebted to Dr. J. Perles.

³ See Dr. S. H. Margulies' essay, Saadia Al-Fajumi's Arabische Pealmen-übersetzung (Breslau, 1884), p. i.

³ See p. 18. ⁴ Ps. lxxxix. 21 (20). ⁵ 1 Sam. xvi. 13.

Num. xxxiii to end.

one side, and punishes on the other, so in the Psalms all this is written down to be read always and everywhere for the benefit of mankind.

'As to the use of the Psalms in the service of the Temple, we can put these in five classes, which may refer to the whole book as well as to parts of it. But at all events a divine voice revealed the whole book to David, and in accordance with that they are called by every one "the songs of David." So it is said 1, "to praise and to give thanks, according to the commandment of David the man of God, ward over against ward," and in another passage 2 it is said, "to thank the Lord, because his mercy endureth for ever, with the Psalms of David in the hand." And it is moreover expressly said³, "for so had David the man of God com-Some are of opinion that others besides David, for instance, Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun, and Ethan, also received revelations of the contents of Psalms, or wrote Psalms themselves. But this can scarcely be the case, for many of the titles of the Psalms have two names, for instance, xxxix, lxxvii, lxxxviii, but God does not usually charge two prophets with one and the same message, except in the case of Moses and Aaron, for the Lord spake with Moses face to face 4, and Moses is in the position of an angel who hears the words of God and communicates them to the prophet. Thus the connection of the name of Jeduthun with that of David in some of the titles implies that David communicated the revelation to him, and he had the supervision of the singing. The same is the case with other names in the titles. "To Moses 5" means that the singing was entrusted to the children of Moses, who were at the king's court, and "to Solomon 6" means that events which happened under Solomon were revealed to David.'

'According to the above-given exposition of the book, it is called "Book of Praise-songs," because the Levites made use

¹ Neh. xii. 24. 2 2 Chron, vii, 6.

^{3 2} Chron, viii. 14.

⁴ Exod. xxxiii. 11.

⁵ Ps. xc.

⁶ Ps. lxxii.

of them for the Temple service, with the following five arrangements:—

"ist. Each Psalm was sung in the Temple by a certain ward of the Levites exclusively, but others could simply read it. Such are Asaph and his companions, Heman, Jeduthun, the sons of Korah and Moses, Ben², and the descendants of Obed Edom, who are meant by the word התחים.

'2nd. Certain Psalms had to be recited with a particular melody, which is mentioned in the superscriptions. Thus the word נגינת means one melody, and נגינת for Psalms which were recited in various melodies. שיר המעלות 6 means with a loud voice (comp. 1 Chron. xv. 22, and the word עלה in 1 Sam. v. 12 and Jerem. xiv. 2). Others which have in the superscription the word עלמות are sung with a deep and sweet melody (comp. 2 Kings iii. 15), requiring a skilful singer. The Psalms headed "to Asaph, Ethan, and Heman" were accompanied by a cymbal (comp. 1 Chron. xvi. 5 and xv. 19). Those Psalms headed על מחלת are accompanied by a drum (comp. מחול), whilst those with עלמות and מחול are accompanied by a lyre (comp. 1 Chron. xv. 20). An elegiacal style of recitation is intended by the heading of על השמינית 10, and those which were recited by the family of Obed Edom. And in this case they were accompanied by a harp (comp. I Chron. xv. 21). Possibly other melodies and instruments were used for the recitation of Psalms, which are not distinctly mentioned. Anyhow, when a musical instrument is mentioned for a Psalm no other could be substituted for it. At all events, music and song were employed only in the service in the Temple, not in the case of Psalm-reading at home or in the synagogues.

'4th 11. Certain Psalms or verses were reserved for particular

```
1 We do not translate literally.
2 Ps. ix. 1.
3 Ps. viii. 1.
4 Ps. lxi. 1.
5 Ps. iv. 1.
6 Pss. cxx-cxxxiv.
7 Ps. ix. 1.
7 Ps. ix. 1.
8 Ps. liii. 1.
9 Ps. ix. 1.
10 Ps. vi. 1.
11 No. 2 Thick should contain the manner of positing the Pselme is
```

¹¹ No. 3, which should contain the manner of reciting the Psalms, is not in the MS. Possibly No. 2 implies a third class. See Dr. Cohn's article (above, p. 10, note 12), p. 66.

occasions. Some were recited at the morning sacrifice, others at that of the evening (comp. 1 Chron. xvi. 37). Psalm xcii is fixed for the sabbath and Ps. c for festival days 1. From the contexts of some Psalms it would be possible to discover the occasions of their recitation, but they are not distinctly stated.

'5th. Certain Psalms were sung only at fixed places, viz. at the four cardinal points, the Levites being divided into twenty-four sections, six of which were for each cardinal point (comp. 1 Chron. xxvi. 14-17). The regular use of the Psalms was confined to the Temple of Jerusalem, and accompanied by melodies (comp. Isaiah xxxviii. 20). The exiles therefore, when asked to sing some of the praise-songs, saying, "Sing us one of the songs of Zion," refused by saying, "How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?" As to the reading of the book of the Psalms, it may be done entirely with the firm conviction and the certain belief that they were designed to advance the salvation and the welfare of men. For if the book be in the first instance a book of praise-songs, its final aim will be to promote the commandments, as I have already said 2. . . . Whoever reads this book may firmly believe that its whole contents, in whatever way expressed, consist of an announcement of God, by whom the book was revealed

'I have to speak here about the sequence of the Psalms, which are not strictly in historical order. We find Psalm iii headed, "when he fled from Absalom his son;" li, "when Nathan the prophet came unto him, after he had gone in to Bath-sheba;" lii, "when Doeg the Edomite came and told Saul, and said unto him, David is come to the house of Ahimelech;" liv, "when the Ziphim came and said to Saul, Doth not David hide himself with us?" From the book of Samuel it is, however, evident that the incident of Doeg comes first, then follows that of the Ziphim, then that of the desert of Judah and the Philistines in Gath, whilst that of

¹ See above, p. 5.

² The text is interrupted at this point.

Nathan and Absalom happened last. Consequently the Psalms are not arranged according to historical tradition. I have said that certain Psalms were sung in certain places, east, west, south, and north, in the Temple; it is therefore possible that the Psalms as we have them are arranged according to this local service. Another solution may be that, as I have said, certain Psalms were fixed for the sabbath, others for the feast days and new-moon days, perhaps also varying for each month itself, they may then be arranged according to the order of these days. Perhaps they are arranged according to the six sections of the Levites, each of which had other Psalms to sing, or to the classes of singers, the sons of Korah, Asaph, etc. Thus the Psalms which are not provided with a superscription may refer likewise to a section of the Levites. The definite solution of the order of the Psalms remains therefore an open question.'

The following is the full text of the substance given above, pp. 12 to 14 ¹ (MS. Munich, Hebr. 122 ff. 7 b to 9 a):—

فلما كان الامر على ما وصفت سمّى هذا الكتاب كتاب التسبيح واراد بذلك ان القوم كانوا يسبحون به فى القدس على خمس شروط التى قدّمت ذكرها. فالاول منها ان كل هاهاد معنون لقوم من الأهو يلزمهم ان يقوله الا تلاوته فقط يلزمهم ان يقوله الا تلاوته فقط فانما كان عنوانه فعموا فى قوله عموه دم دددند دم هموه وأصحابه فانما كان عنوانه فعموا، وما كان لده وا فى قوله دوم مصلات والمعادد دم العلا الذى من دد درسال وما كان لده والله من من در وحد الوسلال وما كان معنونا لدو واسلال وما كان لده والمعاون المعادد وما كان معنونا لدو وحد دم والما الذين هم من در وحد الماسة. والمعنون العالم معنونا لدو وحد والمحد الذين هم من در وحد الماسة والمعاون العالم والعادم الذي عنوانه لعام الدين هم من در وحد دم الماسة والمحابم، والمحابم الذي عنوانه لعام المناسوب الى تا قوله والمحابة الذي قيل فيهم در سادم والمحابة الذي قوله فيهم در سادم والمحابة الذي قوله فيهم در المسمّون فى دود المنسوب الى در قوله فودود المسمّون فى دود المنسوب الى در قوله فودود المنسوب المنسوب

writing.

² MS. follows בה.

י MS. ואצחבן.

בן עויאל ושמירוימות. والمنسوب الى נתית وهى ثلاث מזמור ה' אדונינו. הרנינו לאלהים עוזנו. מה ידידות משכנותיך كقوله בני עובד אדום הנתית المشهور. فعلى هذا تجرى الاسماء التى تجوز فى العنوان ولم يجوز لرادح אדום ان يقول قول אסף ولا لהימן ان يقول ما هو لدا انه نظير ما فى الساحة איש איש על עבודתו ואל משאו كذاك. قيل فيهم ههنا المصدرة عدن אסף על מעמדם והלוים על משמרתם להלל:

والشرط الثاني ان يكون من العاهدا ما يكون بلحن واحد كله لا يتغيّر وهو ما كان عنوانه من الكيفيات على ددرر الله فقولة ددررا هو لحن واحد منها ما يقال بالحان كثيرة و تختلف وهو ما صدّره بدلالاله لان ددادا يوجب لخانا كثيرة 3. ومنها ما يقول بلحن مرتفع وهو ما كان عنوانه ساد הصرادا ومما يبين ان صراد مو رفع صوت لقوله וכנניהו שר הלחים במשא יסר במשא כי מבין הוא. وقد ينسب علوة الى قول וذ يقول ותעל שועת העיר השמימה. וצוחת ירושלים עלתה. ومنها ما يقول بصوت خفي الله وهو ما كانت الكيفية منها فيه يقول פלמות كما كان متعزّن على مفارقته لهליהו عليه السلام طلب ملخنا ببعض الالحان والآلات كقوله תעתה קחו לי מנגן. והיה כנגן המנגן. هما كان من المزامير ما عنوانه له ١٥٥ فيه على لحن الصنوع كما شرح في דברי הימים ואסף במצלתים משמיע. وكذلك ايضا ما كان لאיתן ولהימן كقوله והמשוררים הימן אסף ואיתן במצלתים נחשת להשמיע. فها كان في صدرة لاط عمارا مهو بطبل على مشهور لفظة عمدا. وما كان عنوانة لدر او עלמות فهو ضروب العود كما شرّح في דברי הימים חכריה תויאל ושמירמית. وماكانت الكيفية اليم في صدرة על השמינית וو عنوانة לעובד ארום הנתי فهو على طنبور كما شرح في דברי הימים ומתתיהו ואליפלהו ומקניהו תוובד אדום. פגה אני וני באפני שולת ועווב פשולת الالحان قد انتظروا من ذكرها فعلى هذا السبيل ايضا ما كان بدور لا يقال بددداد وما كان بده لا يجوز ان يقال بدهلاً ما وكل مذين لا يجوز ان يقال على شي البتة الا ان يكون على سبيل القراة والتلاوة: والشرط الرابع ان يكون المزمور ما هو يقال على المعدد بالغداة ومنة

אנחצרו .MS. אלסלם MS. אלסלם. MS. במא. MS. הדיאין. MS. אנחצרו.

⁹ See p. 13, note 11.

מו هو يقال على עולת התמיד بالعشى وهو ما رسم לדוד فى وقت حمل علية المרון كقولة ביום ההוא אז נתן דוד בראש להודות לה' ביד אסף ואחיו. ثم قسّم المزمور فى هذا السفر قسمين بعد ما جعلة فى דברי הימים قولا متصلا فعرّفنا أنه لوقتين مختلفين. فمن הודו לה' קראו בשמו الى ולנביאי אל תרעו يقال على قربان الغداة. ومن שירו לה' כל הארץ الى ברוך ה' אלהי ישראל يقال على قربان العشى. وعلى ان القرابين أنما كانت¹ بددעת الا أن אסף وأصحابه كانوا يقولون هذه الفواسيق فى كل غداة وكل عشى وفى وقت القربان كقوله الالت שا לפני ארת ברית ה' לאסף ולאחיו לשרת לפני הארת תמיד לדבר יום ביומו. [و]الذى فى صدره מזמור שיר ליום השבת فكان ליום השבת خاصة. وما يقع على عنوانه מזמור לתודה فهو للحج خاصة كقوله בקול רנה ותודה متما חונו. ويمكن أن تكون هنا أوقات أخر يخصّها مزامير بعينها لم يثبت شرحها:

والشرط لخامش ان یکون فصل منه نسب الی قوم مضمنین موضع من مواضع القدس ان یقولونه فی ذلاه الموضع لا فی غیره وعلی انه فی القدس ایضا کقوله الاطلاح الالاحال الالاحال الملاحة الالاحال الملاحة الملحة الملاحة الملحة الملحة

We see that Saadyah believes all the Psalms to be by David, who handed them over to Asaph and other Levites;

MS. איקולות ש MS. מצב. MS. מנצב. " MS. יקולות " Illegible in the MS. vol. II.

and the titles, when not stating some historical fact or the time for singing the Psalm, refer to instruments. Next comes his Karaitic contemporary, Salmon ben Yeroham¹, whose Arabic commentary on the Psalms is to be found in the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg². We shall find the Karaites referring the contents of the Psalms mostly to the present exile; in general they are much less clear in their style and meaning than the Rabbanites. Salmon believes that David is not the only author of the Psalms, but that there were prophecies communicated to others named in the superscriptions. The following extract in English will be sufficient for our purpose:—

Salmon ben Yeroham explains the title בילח from the root מלחלים, which means 'height,' because the book of the Psalms contains all superior matter contained in the Law. Salmon contradicts Saadyah's saying that the Psalms were not used as prayers outside Jerusalem and the Temple, showing that David himself recited Psalms outside Jerusalem, and before the town was built, as for instance lxiii, lix, and cxlii, and even outside the Holy Land. The argument which Saadyah advances from Ps. cxxxvii, says Salmon, is not conclusive, because the exiles only objected to sing the Psalms accompanied with their harps, as was the custom in the Temple. Salmon also objects to Saadyah's opinion that השלא, Ps. xc, means 'to the children of Moses,' and השלא, lxxii, means 'concerning Salomon.' Salmon takes these headings in the literal sense.

... ثم اقول شرح اسم هذا الكتاب الذى انا معزم على عبارته فاما الاسم فانه الأدا وتفسيره عند الامة كبير شريف لان لفظة الأدا تشتق من الأ والأطراق والغرض في هذا الاسم الكبير ما فيه من المعانى العويصة الشريفة لخطر ولقد شرح فيه مما هى فى الدادات ... والماهدت في عصرى رجلاً يعرف بالفيومى ذكر ان هذا السفر لا يصلى والماهدت في عصرى رجلاً يعرف بالفيومى ذكر ان هذا السفر لا يصلى والماهدت في عصرى رجلاً يعرف بالفيومى ذكر ان هذا السفر لا يصلى والماهدة المناهدة السفر لا يصلى والماهدة المناهدة السفر لا يصلى والماهدة المناهدة المن

¹ See Aus der Petersburger Bibliotkek, p. 10.

² First Firkowitsch collection, No. 555.

³ Fol. 27 a. איועלא ה MS. איועלא א אר אר יוערף א MS. יועלא

به الا في القدس وددرًا الاه فأن ظان أن هذا حتى فليعلم أنه قد ردّ نصّ الكتاب واجماع الامة الموانق والمخالف. فاما النص فان ٦١٦ اولا صلى بهذه الفصول في غير القدس وقبل بناه فمن ذلك قوله قبل بنيان القدس في ארץ ישראל. واما חוצה לארץ فقد وصف انه صلى وشفع الى الله وعلم الامة كيف تشفع الى الله في الدارا القوله בהצותו את ארם נהרים ... فقد الفح الأن أن דוד صلى بهذه الصلوات المرسومة في هذا العدد في مدم تصديد وفي غير مدم تعديد. وان تعلق قلب احد بما تعلق قلب الفيومي من قول ان اهل 22 سالوا الانبيا ان يقولوا الساد في الدارالة في غير القدس فامتنعوا كما شرحوا وقالوا כי שם שאלונו فقلنا איך נשיר שיר יי' על אדמת נכר فليعلم ان اهل حدد انما سالوا الاباء ان يقولوا الساد حددددا احدداده على رسم دام الان قبل هذا يقول الأالا ودادارالا فلم يستجيزوا هذا الفعل الا في دام ٣٠٠٠ فقد اتَّضي ان الصلاة بهذا العدد في الدادام فرض ومن الاجماع فكل الامة في جميع اقطار الاخص مصلى منه وبه في جميع كنائسها وانما جعلوا صوره وسهم صواه عليه. وكذا ذكروا في السَّرُמוד ان اجتمعوا γ'' 7 شيخ وولفوا γ'' 1 فما كان بهذه الصورة نهو غير مقبول عندنا. واذا سالنا من يجى من بلد الروم وافرنجة واقصاء المغرب بما ذا يصلوا مع ٣٠٠ يعرفوناً انه يصلوا من الأثام في السبت وغيرة. واما ليلة تاهاد لا بد من الصلوة به كله من اوله الى اخرة فقد اتّضے وبان ان قول من قال لا يصلى به الا في בית ٣ خطاء وغلط. وزعم الفيومي ان جميع دعا في ספר תלים انما هي نبوات لـ ١٦٦ مدفوعة الى قدر الله القدر الله السبعوا بها وهذا قوله حرف بعرف. قال واما معلم لمصم فهو تسبيع لدن صمم الذي كانوا بعضرة ١١٦ ليسبعون به وهذا الباب مستعمل في الكتب المقدسات كثيرا كما قال יהודה לשמעון אחיו עלה אתי בערלי ... וילך יהודה את שמעון אחיו وانما يريد به בני יהודה ובני שמעון ويقول זבולון לא הוריש وانما يريد به בני والملة الاقرب في דברי הימים قوله في ايام דוד ואהרן ובניו מקטירים פונהו בשים בן אהרן פשול ויהוידע הנגיד לאהרן בקבר לבני אהרן

كذلك همنا العرام المعتم يريد الدن صعم حسب ما قال المحام المناص المسترام وغيرهم. واما العنوان المنسوب الى سلامام بقولة المسلامة المامام ملامام مسترام وغانة ايضا وحى اوحى الى ١٦٦ نبوة على سلامام: قال ١٦٥ ١٦٥ ملامام ما المرفت على هنا من قول الغيومى لم تسمع نفسى ان تغفل عنه لانى رايت لهما قد سلب صعم لائم نبوته هذه وسلب ايضا جميع الددالام المذكورين فى هذا السفر نبوتهم ونسبها الى غيرهم بشبه اقامها ليس لها حقيقة عند البحث وذلك ان الاسباط غيرهم بسامة محلة الله الله المقبين باباءهم كما ان الامة ملقبة بالمام وعلى ما رتبهم الاحد علية السلام الموام الودة على السباط يستى اولادة على السبط باسم ابوة الاول ولم نجد فراد من السبط يستى اولادة على السمة:

We must next mention the lexicographer David ben Abraham³, a Karaite contemporary of Salmon. He is also the author of a commentary on the Psalms, but at present lost. We give among the expositions some extracts from his dictionary written in Arabic, taken from the MS. in the Bodleian Library⁴.

Yepheth ben Eli (Ali) follows next; he is also a Karaite, who lived towards the end of the tenth century, and wrote a commentary on the Psalms in Arabic, of which MSS. exist in the Paris ⁵ and St. Petersburg Libraries; our extracts are made from the Paris MS. The preface, with the commentary on the first two Psalms, and the translation of the rest, were published with a Latin translation by the Abbé Bargès ⁶. We shall here give a free translation of his introductions. Yepheth also does not attribute all the Psalms to David. He says at the beginning of ch. i:—

'It is necessary to state how many authors there are in the Psalms. We have found three: 1st, those attributed to one person, whose name is given at the beginning of the

¹ MS. אלמר MS. אלמר.

³ See Journ. Asiatique, 1861, ii. p. 465, and 1862, i. p. 47 sqq.

⁴ Catal., No. 1451. ⁵ Catal., Nos. 286-291.

⁶ Libri Psalmorum David, etc., Paris, 1861, and Specimen, etc., Rabb. Yapheth . . ., Paris, 1846.

Psalm; they are the following: David, Solomon, Asaph, Jeduthun, who is identical no doubt with Ethan, and Moses. and, those attributed to a family, of which the names are not given, such as the sons of Korah. They are, according to some, Assir, Elkanah, and Eliasaph, who lived in the time of Moses; according to others, they signify Heman alone, as in the passage, the children of Dan, Hushim¹; we believe, however, that the sons of Korah signify many persons who lived at various periods, as we shall explain on the 42nd Psalm. 3rd, Psalms without names of authors at all, fortysix in number, viz. i, ii, x, xxxiii, xliii, lxxi, xci-c, cii, civ, cvi, cvii, the Hallel Psalms exi-exviii, ten of the gradual Psalms, cxxxiv2, cxxxvi, cxxxvii, cxlvi to the end. do not include the 119th Psalm, which makes one, and two headed by לממוח, but without a name, viz. lxvi and lxvii, which latter is a part of the former. Out of the forty-six Psalms, we consider five as completing the preceding ones; Ps. x, namely, completes ix (which, as we shall show, follows the order of the alphabet); Ps. xxxiii belongs to xxxii; Ps. xliii to xlii, Ps. lxxi and civ belong to the preceding Psalms. The collector has disconnected them, for reasons which we shall explain in their proper place. Amongst these forty-six Psalms ten may be ascribed to the author mentioned in the preceding Psalms, viz. xci-c, to Moses. The last Hallelujah Psalms are connected with David, being associated with cxlv. Those headed by למנצח there is no reason for not ascribing to David. The rest of the anonymous forty-six Psalms need not be ascribed to one author or to one epoch; it is more probable that they were composed at various times and by members of a family, and hence they are not ascribed to one author. The singers said the Psalms standing, whilst the Holy Spirit rested upon them, with the same number, the same order, and the same melody. Now those Psalms which are not provided with a name, and have no connection with the preceding one, are attributed by some

¹ Gen. xlvi. 23. ² Evident

² Evidently an error for cxxxv.

to Adam, by others to Moses, and by the best commentators to David, except the ten which belong to Moses. But as none of these can produce decisive arguments for their opinion, we do not think it is worth while to discuss them and to refute them.'

Yepheth then divides the Psalms into the following classes:—

1st. Psalms relating to the creation and things created, such as civ, cvi, and verses of others.

2nd. Psalms of God's benefits towards Israel and other nations, such as in Psalms civ. 27, 30, exlv. 9, 15; towards Israel especially, xliv, lxxviii, lxxx. 1.

3rd. Psalms describing the signs and miracles in Egypt, in the desert, and in the Holy Land, such as xliv. 3, xlv, xlix, lxvi, lxviii, lxxii, lxxvi, lxxx. 8, 9, xcv, ci, cv, cviii, and all the Hallelujah Psalms, and those of degree, as well as Psalm cxliv.

4th. Psalms referring to the rebellion against God by the early Israelites. Such are Psalms xxxi. 11, xxxii. 5, xl. 13, 19, lxxviii, cviii.

5th. Psalms relating to punishment and calamities, xliii, xliv, lxxviii, lxxix.

6th. The return of the exiles, xxxii, cxix.

7th. Asking for the right direction concerning the law, exix.

8th. Prayer for deliverance from the enemy, iii.

9th. Prayer for the fulfilment of God's promises, xiii. 4.

10th. Prayer that all the inhabitants of the earth may be converted to the true religion, xlv, xlvii.

11th. Prayer for general peace, xlvi. 10, lxvii. 5.

12th. The faith of the nations in Israel and the Messiah, lxxii. 8.

These twelve parts should be used as daily prayers morning and evening.

Yepheth gives then an explanation of various expressions in the Psalms referring to the meaning of prayers, such as in the Psalms referring to the meaning of prayers, such as subject which lies out of the sphere of our essay.

At the beginning of the third Psalm, Yepheth, like David Qamhi two centuries afterwards, gives a general introduction on the expressions used in the superscriptions of the Psalms. 'The following seven words,' he says, 'occur in the book, viz. מומור, מכתם ,שניון , and ההלה sometimes we find two or more of them together in one heading, viz. שיר and שיר twelve times; שיר מומור with שיר מומור and חבלה once; the three other expressions, viz. מכתם, שנים, and חהלה, we find only singly. We shall state now how often each of these occurs. The most frequent term is moon, which occurs forty-seven times; next comes שיר, which we find twenty-nine times, of which twelve with מכחם; מכחם occurs seven times; חשלה five times; מחלה and each once. שניון means a release from Cush the Benjamite; מכתם means a stain, caused by a child, a king, or a fact; משכיל means either direction or leading; תבלה means prayer in all respects; ההלה is praise to God for all His bounties; as to שיר the opinions differ. Some say that each Psalm is a song of salvation, which is really applicable to all Psalms headed by this word except lxxxviii. 2, which they apply to prayers in exile; others say that these Psalms were used for the daily and additional sacrifices. It seems to me that שיר refers to some wonderful event; in general it bears the meaning of more, which is difficult to explain, and which I believe to have been accompanied with singing and musical instruments, although this can scarcely be the case with the 63rd Psalm. But if it was originally recited only, it is not at all impossible that later on it was accompanied with song and music. As to the Psalms which have no headings and those which are introduced by הללויה, and הודו, we shall give our opinion in its proper place.' This we shall omit, not belonging to the headings strictly, but being deductions from the contexts of the Psalms which are excluded in this

ينبغى ان نذكر ههنا اصول ما يجب ذكرة من الالفاظ التى ذكرت فى عنوانات المزامير ونذكر معنى كل لفظة منها. فنقول انها سبعة وهى מזמור. מכחם. שיר. משכיל. תחלה، תחלה، وهذا السبع

قد تقترن بعضها مع بعض وقد لا تقترن. وذلك أن صاحات وساد يقترنا[ن] في الله موضع. ولفظة صحداد تقترن مع صاهاد وصد في موضع واحد פת משכיל להימן האזרחי. وتقترن مع חפלה וيضا وתو משכיל לדוד בהיותו במערה תפלה فهذه الة تقترن بعضها مع بعض. والذ الأخر اعنى تلاام. فحمله. ممارات وجدناها مفردة. وينبغى ان نتبع ذلك بذكر عددها فنقول. ان لفظة ١٥٥٥ هي كثيرة العنوان وجملتها ١٠٠٠ ولفظة שיר כֹם "ב تقترن مع لفظة מזמור وصحدا " ثلاثة تقترن مع غيرها وهي רחש. להימן. בהיותו במערה، وמכתם سبعة اول في אשר والستة فى כאיל. وתפלה خمسة ולדור ائنين. למשה. לעני. במערה. وתחלה א׳ ארוססך אלהו. פשניון א'. פוביי וני ניביי משים לשו ווחישה באשים שניון هو سهو جرى من دالا در الاد. ومعنى الدالم فهو اثر اما ولد او ملك او فعل. وصح الم معناها تختلف في المزامير في معنى الرشد والهدايا. ومعنى المحامة هو شخوة الحال ومسلة الله في الخلاص وأنجاز الوعد. ومعنى ١٦٦٦ هي في مديحة الله على خليقته وحسن تدبيره وبسط رزقة وعجائبة. وقد تختلف المعلّمين في لفظة ١٠١٣ فبعضهم قال ان كل מזמור في عنوانه ساد فهو ساد اسلام وليس ثم ما ينقس عليهم هذا الاصل غير موضع واحد وهو יו אלהי ישתוחי فأن ليس فيه ذكر تعادده فقالوا انه سالا تعالاه وانما ومفوا كيف كانوا يدعون الى וللة تعالى في الدلااת. وبعضهم قال أن الصد يقال على المصد أو الصحم. والذي يقرب منا هو أنه ذلك العاد تسبقه حادثة عظيمة وفي ما بين جمع وهو في كل موضع بحسب ما يعتمله ال ١٥١٥١٦، ومعنى والذي يقرب في التغريج جدا. والذي يقرب فيه انه يقول على ضرب آلة ولحن نشاكلها فان وجدناها في مواضع يظنّ فيها انها تبطل هذا الاصل مثل בהיותו במדבר יחודת. فينبغي أن تعلم أن وأن كأن أول ما قيل ذلك الصاه بغير آلة ولحن فليس بد من أن يكون قد أعادوة الصهاددات على ضرب ولحن. فهذا الباب قدمنا ذكرة ههنا اصل مكفى فبقى علينا ذكر المزامير التي ليس لها عنوان والتي في اول الألاالة والذى في اول ١٦١٦ والذى في عنوانه العديه، ونعن نذكر كل واحد منها في اول صاصات ذكرة فيه واحدة من هذه الالفاظ:

Abu-'l-Walîd R. Jonah ibn Jannâh 1 does not afford much

1 See The Book of Hebrew Roots, Oxford, 1875.

material for our subject, and he will rarely be quoted here. Three important commentaries are at present lost, (1) that of Joseph ibn Stanas, Santas, or Satanas (who lived in the tenth century), quoted in another commentary 1; (2) that of Judah ben Bala'm 2; (3) that of Moses ibn Jiqatilia (Moses Kohen), frequently mentioned by Abraham ibn Ezra³. Solomon of Troyes, known as Rashi (who died 1105), relies much on the Agadah; sometimes we shall find him agree with those who suppose the titles to refer to instruments.

We now come to the most acute commentator, the well-known Abraham ibn Ezra, who paid a visit to London in 1157. Whilst he seeks to show by enigmatical hints that Moses cannot be the author of the whole Pentateuch, we shall find him most conservative in the Psalms, unless the anonymous view mentioned in the following preface is his own 4. He says:—

'This book of Tehiloth contains songs, with the name of either the singer or the author prefixed; many, however, are anonymous, such as i, ii, xci and the following Psalms. The commentators are divided as to the authorship of the Psalms. Some say that the entire book is by David, who was a prophet, as it is said, "According to the commandment of David, the man of God 5," an expression which is used in Scripture of a prophet. David also says, "The Spirit of the Lord spake by me 6 (which means, who speaks with me), and His word was on my tongue." When we find the name of Jeduthun together with that of David in the title to a Psalm, the meaning is that David is the author and that he gave it to Jeduthun for performance, for he was one of the chief singers. Psalm lxxii is a prophecy of David concerning Solomon, his son. Psalm xc is also by David, which he gave to the sons of Moses for performance. The same is the case

¹ See Dr. Harkavy's article with the title ארכים גם ישנים in the Quarterly חצים, fasc. i, St. Petersburg, 1885.

² Oxford University Gazette, 1876, p. 100.

² Ps. cx.

⁴ Printed in the so-called 'Rabbinical Bibles.'

⁵ Neh. xii. 24.

⁴ a Sam. xxiii. 2.

with the names of the sons of Korah and Heman. Psalms lxxix and cxxxvii are prophecies of David, similar to that of the birth of Josiah 1. Others say that there is no prophecy in the Psalms, and therefore it is put together with Job and the "Megilloth," as is shown by the expressions song and prayer. According to their opinion Psalm exxxvii was composed in Babylonia. The same is the case with the Psalms which are headed "of the sons of Korah," which were composed by the sons of Heman in the Babylonian captivity, as is clear from the fact that these Psalms contain matter concerning this captivity, which is not the case in those of David. Asaph, the author of the Psalms, was also one of the Babylonian captives, and not identical with the contemporary of David. Ethan the Ezrahite composed his Psalms on the destruction of the empire of the family of David under Zedekiah. As to the anonymous Psalms, the compilers did not know the names of their authors; the same is the case with the "sons of Korah," when they did not know the name of the individual authors. Psalm cxix, they say, was composed by a young captive in Babylonia, who was greatly honoured 2 there, as appears from the following verses: "Wherewithal shall a young man cleanse his way?" (ver. 9); "I am small and despised" (ver. 141); "Princes also did sit and speak against me" (ver. 23).

'My opinion, however, inclines towards the words of our wise men who say that the whole book was written by the Holy Spirit. As to the word "song" (משר), we find it also applied to the prophecy in Deuteronomy xxxii; the expression "prayer" (משלה) we find applied to the prophecy of Habakkuk iii. I, and Isaiah lxiii. I7. Whenever we find in the superscriptions "לדור to David," it means that the Psalm is either by David or a prophecy concerning him, similar to Psalm lxxii, which was written with reference to Solomon. Psalm xci is by Moses, and the Psalms marked "to Asaph" are by Asaph, the contemporary of David, "who prophesied according

¹ I Kings xiii. 2. ² So MSS. and editions in spite of what follows.

to the king 1." The sons of Korah, the sons of Heman, lived also in the days of David (comp. 1 Chron. xxv. 5). As to the word about, Psalm lxxii, "to Solomon," it means a prophecy concerning him or concerning his son, the Messiah, as it is said, "And David my servant shall be king over them 2." Servant here is used as in the passage, "Fear not, O Jacob, my servant3." The Psalms which have no author's name may still be by David; as Psalm cv, where no name is mentioned, is, according to 1 Chron. xvi. 7, by David, who handed over the Psalm to Asaph. As to the objection against the authorship of David, on the ground that the book is not introduced with the name of David, is it not the same with Genesis, of which no one 4 denies that it was written by Moses, for such is the tradition, although the book does not begin with the words, "And God spake to Moses?"

'The Gaon (Saadyah) says that this Psalm was composed by David, who gave it to one of the singers to sing it constantly, according to the use of the word מנצחים. Others think that this word means "the chief over the singers," like מלכים אליהם. And this is right; the has a patah (denoting the article), because he was perfectly known. שלמה שפחה two melodies. Others take it as an instrument. I believe that there were in Israel songs and praises in different melodies; means the beginning of the song, thus the melody is written with it; the same is the case with השלמה, השלמה, etc.'

In general Ibn Ezra takes the enigmatical superscription as the opening words of a song, to the melody of which the Psalm was sung.

Contemporary with Ibn Ezra is the Karaite Jacob ben Reuben, author of the Book of Richness, of which a MS. exists in Paris. There is not much that is new in it. The same is the case with the lexicon of Solomon Pirhon, or Parhon⁸ (who flourished 1169), and the Karaitic lexicographer, Ali ben

¹ I Chron. xxv. 2.
⁹ Ezek. xxxiv. 23.
⁸ Isaiah xliv. 2.

⁴ See, however, his commentary on Gen. xii. 7. ⁵ See p. 11.

⁶ I Chron. xxiii. 4. ⁷ 2 Chron. ii. 2.

^{*} Edited by G. S. Stern, Pressburg, 1844.

Soleiman, who compiled his work from predecessors. Shortly after Ibn Ezra follows the famous David Qimhi², who in his short introduction, after having quoted the passages of the Talmud given above 3, concludes that 'David composed the Psalm with the help of the Holy Spirit, to be distinguished from prophecy. And although David, Jeduthun, Heman, and Asaph are called prophets, they are so only in a certain degree, for prophecy is classified in various degrees, the one higher than the other 4. Daniel, for instance, who had visions in dream and when awake, did not reach the level of Isaiah, Ezekiel, and the other prophets; therefore his book is included amongst the Hagiographa, which means books written with the aid of the Holy Spirit. The Psalms composed by David he gave to the singers to recite, viz. to Asaph and his brethren (comp. I Chron. xvi. 8, Ps. cv), to Jeduthun (Ps. lxii. 1). There are Psalms which refer to events which happened to him or to Israel when fighting with their enemies; others contain prayers and thanksgivings, without allusion to any special occasion. The Psalms which are headed לדוד and those without headings are by David. לרוד, however, sometimes signifies "concerning David 5." David incorporated in his book a prayer which he found and which was referred by tradition to Moses 6; he also spoke of events after his time, e.g. the Babylonian and other captivities, and pronounced consolation in view of the restoration of the house of David to its former position. The Psalms of all kinds were recited, some with, some without, an accompaniment of music. We do not know now the meaning of the various words found in the superscriptions.' Here David Qamhi quotes the Talmudic passage on געוח, etc.⁷

At the beginning of the third chapter he writes as follows: 'מנצח' is the chief musician, who distributed their parts to the singers and players. Accordingly we find always ממנצח and

¹ MS. St. Petersburg, first Firkowitsch collection, No. 75.

⁴ According to Maimonides. See The Guide of the Perplexed, transl. of Dr. Friedländer, vols. ii and iii.

⁵ Pss. xx. 1, 2; cx. 1.

⁶ Ps. xc. 1.

never למשורר or למנון. Comp. Habakkuk iii. 19; ו Chron. xxiii. 4, xv. 21. There were chiefs for the instruments called and מטינית; and with the accompaniment of these instruments the various Psalms were recited, each to some wellknown melody; for music is a great science, which attracts the intelligent soul, and it is included amongst the external sciences. The instruments used in the Temple for accompanying Psalms were the nabla, harp, cymbal, trumpet, and horn, of which each was distinguished by its special style of music. One of the tunes is called עלמות , others are called משכיל, נגינות נתית ,שניונות ,נחילות ,שניון ,מכחם. There are instruments called עונב, עשור, and מנים, each of which is recognised by its notes, as those acquainted with this science are aware. We find (I Chron. xxiii. 5), "And four thousand praised the Lord with the instruments which I made to praise therewith," but it is not known whether those who used the instruments also sang the praises, or whether the singers were facing the players. Comp. also 2 Chron. vii. 7 and xxix. 28. The trumpets were blown by the priests (Num. x. 8); the other instruments were played by the Levites (2 Chron. xxix. 26)2.

Before returning to another Arabic commentator, we may briefly notice a commentary on the Psalms by Isaiah of Trani, the elder (who lived about 1230), which is chiefly based on Abraham ibn Ezra. MSS. are to be found in Paris (No. 217, 3) and Parma (No. 308). Some glosses are to be found in the Bodleian Library which seem to belong to the same school 3.

The dictionary (MS. in the Bodleian Library, No. 1484 of the New Catalogue) of Moses of England (who lived early in the thirteenth century) will be rarely quoted here.

¹ I Chron. xv. 20; Ps. xlvi. I.

² Qamhi's commentary to the Psalms has been printed many times, and there exist Latin translations of it. The last edition of the first book only, by Dr. Schiller-Szinessy (1883), claims to be based upon twenty MSS, and three early editions, yet it does not offer a single variation, and is therefore uncritical.

³ MS. No. 221. See Mr. H. J. Mathews' Notes . . . on Psalms, etc., in the Isr. Letterbode, iv. p. 1 sqq.

Thanhum ben Joseph of Jerusalem (who lived about 1240), although somewhat of a collector, is of importance on account of his quotations from other authors. He was a good grammarian, and holds himself free from the Agadah. Unfortunately only fragments of his commentary on the Psalms are preserved in the St. Petersburg Library 1. From the extracts which will be quoted later on, it may be concluded that he does not believe David to be the only author of the Psalms.

We have seen represented the East and Spain; there remain still to be added Abraham Remokh of Barcelona and Menahem ben Solomon Meiri of Perpignan, both Catalans. We append the text and translation of the latter's preface to the third Psalm, from which his opinion may be learnt ².

'After having taken note of this preface you will remember what we said in the name of our rabbis, viz. that David wrote this book at the direction of ten elders 3. That means to say that each of them composed some of the Psalms, which David incorporated in this book, together with those which he had composed himself. These ten elders are Adam, Melchizedek, Abraham, Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun, Moses, and three sons of Korah; but this is only an Agadic saying. Literally said, it may possibly be the case with some Psalms, e.g. with the one headed "Prayer of Moses"," which David may have found and inserted in his book; but for the other Psalms, David is the author, and gave them out to the Levites, who are called in general the "sons" of Korah, to sing them in the service before the ark. Some of the more important Levites, such as Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun and his brethren, he mentions by name. Comp. I Chron. xvi. 6; Ps. lxii. I. Even "Moses" (Ps. xc) may be the name of some well-known Thus David is the author of all the Psalms provided with names, as well as the anonymous ones. The rabbis

¹ Codd. 111 and 183. I am indebted for the extracts to Magister J. Israelsohn.

² MS. Bodl. Libr., No. 325. See *Hist. litt.* xxvii. p. 528 sqq.

³ See p. 6.

⁴ Ps. xc.

have, moreover, enumerated ten terms expressive of praise, with the meaning of which the Psalms were composed 1; in our opinion, however, these are merely synonyms with one Some of the Psalms are provided with superscriptions respecting the musical instruments used when they were sung, but we do not know whether the Psalms without such title were simply recited or were also sung with musical accompaniment.' Meiri enumerates the various headings which mention instruments, although he thinks that some of them might bear another meaning, which he promises to explain when the time comes. He gives then the names of instruments used in the Temple service, but not mentioned in the titles to the Psalms. The general expression למנצח he explains as denoting the chief of the singers and the musicians, for we nowhere find the expression 'to the musician' or 'to the singer 2,' but only to the chief of them, who distributed the Psalms to the performers on different instruments, such as שטינית and others, of the true meaning of which he says that he is not sure, but he will attempt to explain it in its proper place.

ואחר שתדע הקדמה זו צריך שתזכור מה שכבר קדמנו מדעת רבותי ע"ה שע"י עשרה זקנים חברו דוד ספר זה. וכוונתם שכל א' מאלו העשרה חבר קצת מזמורי וחברם דוד בספר הזה עם המזמורי שחבר הוא מעצמו וכבר ביארנו שעשרה זקנים אלו הם אדם הראשון מלכי צדק אברהם אבי אסף הימן ידותון משה ושלשה בני קרח וזהו דרך דרש אלא לפי הפשט איפשר שיהיה כן בקצתם כמו תפלה למשה שאיפשר שמצאה וכתבה בספרו אבל השאר יראה שחברם דוד והיה נותנם ללויים שהוא קוראם דרך כלל בני קרח לומר בהן בדוכן לפני הארון והזכיר מן הלוים בפרט לרוב חשיבותם. אסף והימן וידותון ואיתן האזרחי והוא שכתו' אז נתן דוד בראש להודות ליי' ביד אסף וידותון ואחיו. וכן ראיה אמרו למנצח על ידותון מזמור לדוד ואף למשה איש האלי"ם איפשר שהיה לוי מיוחד בדורו וכולם חברם דוד עם אותם שלא הוזכר בהם שום אדם או שהוזכר בהם לרוד לבד. ועוד דרשו ר'ז'ל שספר זה נאמ' בעשרה לשונות של שבח בניצוח בכינון במזמור בשיר בהשכל בתהלה בברכה בהודאה באשרי בהללויה.

ולדעתינו כלם ענין א' בטלות שוטת אלא שר'ו'ל דרשו ניצוח ונינון לעתיד משכיל ע"י תורגמן לדוד מזמור ששרתה עליו רוח הקדש תחלה וא'ח'כ אם' שירה מזמור לדוד שאם' שירה וא'ח'כ שרתה עליו רוח הקדש וכן יש מו המומורו' שנתיחסה זמירתם לכלי זמר לא ידענו אם אותם שלא נכתב בהם כלי זמר היו נאמרים בשירת הפה לבד או אף אם הם כלי נינון שלא נכתב וכן הוא חלוק שמות בלי נינון לא נודע לנו והנה מצאנו למנצח בנגינות וכו למנצח על הנחילות למנצח בנגינות על השמינית. שניוז לדוד. למנצח על הנתית. מכתם לרוד למנצח על אילת השחר. לדוד משכיל מומור לדוד להזכיר. למנצח על שושנים למנצח לבני פרח על עלמות למנצח על מחלת למנצח על יונת אלם רחוקים. למנצח על שושן עדות. מכתם לדוד ללמד. שיר המעלות וכל אלו הם רובם כלי שיר ומיעומם איפש' שפירושם בעניו א' כמו שיתבאר כל א' בפרטיו ומשטות כלי הנינון עד שלא נכתבו בראשי המומורים נבלים וכנורות ומצלתים חצוצרות עונב מינים ששור ומלת למנצח יראה שהיא כללית והיא נאמרת לממונה על כל המשוררים והמנגנים ולא תמצא בשום מקום למנגן ולא למשורר אלא למנצח כלו' שיהא ניתן המזמור על ידו להזמר באי זה מכלי הגינון הנאות אילו לפי עניינו פעם על הכלי הנקרא נגינות פעם על השמינית. וכן בכלם ומעם השמות לא נודע ל[נ]ו אלא שבפרמים יתבאר קצת מעם בקצתם:

Remokh inclines more to philosophical interpretation, but he is interesting on account of his quotations, unfortunately all anonymous.

The last author to be noticed is Immanuel ben Solomon of Rome (Manuelo, the friend of Dante), who has still a certain originality. Finally we have to mention an anonymous commentary by a Spanish author, MS. of the Bodleian Library, No. 332, and the Arabic Dictionary of Saadyah ibn Danan (composed 1486), MS. of the same Library, No. 1492. Here we stop with the Jewish interpretation. Mendelssohn and his followers are too modern, and belong more to the beginning of the critical school.

It remains to give the interpretations of the titles according to the translators and commentators who have been enumerated. One commentator often follows another; but we shall avoid repetition as much as possible, though sometimes it will occur inevitably when full texts have to be quoted.

PSALM III. — TIOID.

Ο΄. Ψαλμός. Σ. φδή.

I. V. psalmus.

Targum everywhere translates מכור by מרכוח, praise. The rabbis observe that this Psalm ought rather to be headed פינה, lamentation. This remark would be satisfactorily met by Dr. Graetz's hypothesis¹, that ממטר is a general expression, indicating that a new Psalm begins, when this is not done by a special heading. That is the reason why Psalms i and ii are reckoned as one, since there is no separation between them.

S. مقال لداود مجد الله به في هربه من بين يدى אבשלום ابنه. An utterance of David's, in praise of God, when he fled before Absalom his son.

D. A. and A. W. التسبيع والتعجيد, praising.

למנצח בנגינות מומור לדוד—PBALM IV.

- O'. εἰς τὸ τέλος ἐν ψαλμοῖς φόδη, taking ΠΊΣ), from ΠΊΣ), eternal, end. 'Α. τῷ νικοποιῷ ἐν ψαλμοῖς μελφόδημα, no doubt from ΠΊΣ), to be victorious. Σ. ἐπινίκιος διὰ ψαλτηρίων. Θ. εἰς τὸ νῖκος ἐν ὕμνοις ψαλμός.
- I. In finem, Psalmus Cantici ipsi David. V. In finem, in carminibus, psalmus David.

Tg. לשבחא על חינניתא תושבחתא לרור, to celebrate upon an instrument (for dance?) the praise of David.

8. قول لداود يسبح به المواظبين بالحان. A composition of David's, with which the constant (Levites; למצח derived from למצח ו Chron, xxiii. 4) praise in (various) tunes.—Sy., Y. A. to the chief of the Levites to be sung with an instrument of more than one tune (comp. נגינה Ps. li. 1).

¹ Kr. Comm. Ps., p. 78. ² MS. אוםמי.

It is possible that when the singer stood before the altar he presented to him a song of his own or something which he had learned from others. Therefore the teacher is called משט, as in the words 'the teacher with scholar' (I Chron. xxv. 8); and so it is said in the title of Ps. xxxix, 'to the instigated, to Jeduthun, Psalm of David,' i.e. the instigator who was the author of the Psalm was David, and the instigated for reciting it was Jeduthun. The plural form is מצעות. דוב means tunes.

A.W. to the chief.—P. to king David.—M.N. למכצח הרא הלו המנן בלי שור בעד בלי המסק על כלי שיר כך פי' ר' סעדיה.—For Tm. see VI.—Imm. the chief of the singers on a certain instrument.

למנצח אל הנחילות מומור לדוד--PSALM V.--ילמנצח אל הנחילות

O'. ὑπἐρ τῆς κληρονομούσης; וווי read as יחילות, to inherit. So the Agadah and Rashi, the nations taking away the inheritance. (Sy. mentions also this explanation, saying that it is against the grammar (it ought to be חולת), and against the contents of the Psalm, where there is no reference to any inheritance.) 'A. ἀπὸ κληροδοσιῶν. Σ. φὸδη τοῦ Δανὶδ ἐπινίκιος ὑπὲρ κληρουχιῶν.

I. pro his qui haereditabunt.—V. pro ea, quae haereditatem consequitur.

Tg. לשכחא על חננין, to praise upon (dancing ?) instruments.

قول لداود يسبح به المواظبون المبتهلون: اتّى صرفت به المواظبون المبتهلون: اتّى صرفت به المواظبون المبتهلون التمال على من الله فسرته ابتهالا لله فسرته المبتهلان المبته

פחי ذلل (מחלה) قولة למנצח אל הנחילות להستحت على D.A. לופרום ולפרום והדב"ל מובי מולה פרום לשון נחלח על בר מן אלואר כל הנחילות בעלה בשבם ליי משו ולשת לאואר בל הנחילות בעלה בשבם ליי משו ולפרום והפרום ולפרום ולפרום

בר מן ג' אל, See the Massorali, where there is the following reading, בר מן ג' אל.

² So also Jerome.

which includes אות יות יות under the rubric יות וחלה. But that is a weak argument, since it is the habit of the Massorah to put together words according to the sounds, and not according to the meanings, e. g. חעירה (Mic. v. 3; 2 Sam. xix. 8); העירה (Ps. xxxv. 23; 1 Chron. xix. 15).

Sy., Haya (in Qamḥi), Imm., Meiri, R., S.D. explain it as an instrument, to which three of them give the derivation of the Talmudic ment, to which three of them give the derivation of the Talmudic Mishnah, Baba Qamā x. 2), 'a multitude of bees,' i. e. an instrument sounding like the noise of bees. Sy., Y. and A. derive it from החלה, sickness (Ezek. xxxiv. 4), 'those who are sad in heart,' i.e. Israel in exile.—Rashi and Imm. refer it to the multitude of the nations coming upon David, deriving it from as above.

J. R. לכּפּוֹמֵינִי מל' נחלה מכתך כמשקל נדיבות וקרא לשארית ישראל בלשון נקבה כי הם כצאן נחילות שנ' את הנחלות לא חזקתם וי"א על נחלת בלשון נקבה כי הם כצאן נחילות שנ' את אבילי ציון כי הם כצאן נחילות וי"א הוא כלי ארץ כי לקחו הנוים וי"א על אבילי ציון כי הם כצאן נחילות וי"א הוא כלי (Jer. xxx. 12); השיר is analogous in form to נדיבות The remnant of Israel is spoken of in the feminine form because they are the sickly flock (comp. Ezek. xxxiv. 4). There are other opinions: 1. נחילות refers to the inheritance taken away by the heathen; 2. to the mourners of Zion (the Karaites), who are the sickly flock; 3. musical instrument.

בחל من المرض وقيل ان منه למנצח אל הנחילות وانه مقام אלה הנחלות Some את הנחלות לא חזקתם. وقيل انه من انتحال مقام אלה הנחלות Some take in Ezek. xxxiv. 4, sickness; others take it in the sense of inheritance, comp. Josh. xix. 51.

למנצח בנגינות על השמינית-.Psalm VI.

 Ο΄. ἐν ὕμνοις, ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀγδόης. ᾿Α. ἐν ψαλμοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδόης. Σ. διὰ ψαλτηρίων περὶ τῆς ὀγδόης.

I. pro carminibus, pro die octava psalmus ipsi David. V. in carminibus, psalmus David, pro octava.

Tg. לשבחא בנגינתא על כינרא דתמניא נימיא, to praise with song on a harp of eight cords.

D. A. and Sy. an instrument with eight cords, على الدا اوتار.—Y. on the eighth horn, which is the Ishmaelitic dominion.

J. R. says the same: פתרו אותם על שם כלי השיר ככתו' בכנורות על השכוינית לנצח יש בו ח' יתרי' ולעתיד יהיה בי' שנ' עלי עשור. ויש שיפתור אותו על טלכות שטינית וביאורו כי דניאל ראה חיותא רביעתא ליה קרן עשר. דע כי יש לארום י' מגרלות בי' ארצות והם. ברומה ובקוסטנדינה ובפרנגיאה ובולגריאה ודרגן וגרגן ופארטן ובאסכנדריאה ועכה ואנדוכיא, לקחו מהם בני ישמעאל ג' אנמוכיא ועכה ואסכנדריאה נשאר להם ז' כבתו' משתכל הוית בקרניא וכאשר לקח ג' ונהיה כא' נקרא שמינית. Some explain נינות by a musical instrument with eight cords (comp. 1 Chron. xv. 21), later with ten (Ps. xlii. 4). Others refer it to the eighth kingdom, which is represented with ten horns (Dan. vii. 7). Know that the Christians possess ten fortresses (capitals) in ten countries, viz. at Rome, Constantinople, in France, Bulgaria, Darghân, Jorjân, Armenia (l. ובארמן), at Alexandria, Acco, and Antiochia; the last three having been taken from them by the Arabs, there remained seven, and the three taken by the Arabs, taken as one, make eight, and to this event the word השמעית refers.

A. S. مملكة ثامنة وقيل بثمانية اوتار, the eighth kingdom, or an instrument with eight cords.

Tm. الراس الالحان, chief of the tunes. براس الالحان, the eighth سبعة لحان متقدّمة قبله. والاسمّ انه آلة ذات ثمنية اوتار the eighth tune after the preceding seventh; the true sense, however, is that it is an instrument with eight cords.

Imm., after having the usual opinion, adds the following: Since this Psalm refers to an illness, it is possible that שמינית means the double of a quartan fever.

שניון לדוד אשר שר ליהוה על דברי כוש בן ימיני-VII.

Ο΄. δν ήσε τῷ κυρίῳ ὑπὲρ ('A. Σ. Θ. περὶ) τῶν λόγων Χουσὶ υἰοῦ 'Ιεμενεί.
 I. V. psalmus David, quem cantavit Domino pro verbis Chusi filii Emini (V. Jemini).

Tg. אירוא לדור די שבח קדם יי׳ מטול די אטר שירתא על . An expression of thanksgiving by David with which he praised God by composing a song concerning the destruction of Saul, son of Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin.

مقال لداود سبع به الله تسبيع انتصار في سبب دات دم اصلاد: S. القصل الله استخرجناه من غرض ما في هذا الفصل في هذا الفصل is rendered 'asking assistance'

in the matter of Cush, without any ground except the contents of the Psalm.

Sy. renders וויים געונג, dedication to David, without reason; he gives another explanation from שנה to err, with allusion to David's repentance after cutting off the sleeve of Saul's cloak (r Sam. xxiv. 6).—Y. also derives it from שנה, meaning Saul's injuring David.

D. A. خلبة.—A. W. love and pleasure (so I. E.), or occupation with music. So Tm.

B. B. says (Habakkuk iii. ۱): هو عندى مثل تلاام أدار وهو في ما . اهد عندى مثل تلاام العناء لحن من الحان. . . اعد العناء لحن من الحان

مثلة الدين ولبجوز ان مثلة ادر سلام دا كل راغبة في الدين ولبجوز ان مثلة ادر سلام وقيل ان الكل من فيه وقيل في سلام ألبه وفيد الكل من الكل من (Prov. xx. I) שנה (Prov. xx. I) may perhaps be taken in the same sense. Others translate שניין here and Habakkuk iii. I by 'affliction,' and others by 'humility.'

S.D. طرب ملد وقيل انطراب النفس, sweet music, giving pleasure to the soul.

Most explain it as the name of a musical instrument, to which Meiri adds that Cush liked it for its sweetness of tune.

Cush is taken by David Qamhi to mean Saul; so also Imm. and Tm., who say that he was called Cush, 'a negro,' in jest, because he was a most handsome man. He adds: Perhaps David called him Cush on account of the cruelty which he had shown to him and the priests of Nob.

PSALM VIII.-למנצח על הנתית.

0'. Σ. ὑπὲρ τῶν ληνῶν (i. e. ງງៀງ]). 'Α. Θ. ὑπὲρ τῆς γετθίτιδος.

I. V. pro [I. lacis] torcularibus.

Tg. לשבחא על כנורא דאתי מנח תושבחתא, on the harp which came from Gath.

قول لداود يسبح به المواظبون من التلاحة אדום الليواني: قد يضطرب في . To praise by the constant (Levites) of the house of Obed Edom the Levite. Opinions differ as to the word הנחיח, but the right one is that which I have propounded.

للمستعت على معصار الاوتار ويقال للرقص بلا دليل وقيل .D.A على عرس معاصر الشراب والاول عندى اقرب كما يقول في غيره الأ -To the instigator upon the instru وما شاكل ذلل

ment for pressing wine with cords. Others say for dances (see Y.),—an opinion without proof. Others say concerning the feast (?) of pressing out the juice. I agree with the first opinion, that it is a term analogous to שמינית, נגינה, etc.

Y. says it means reciting tunes (short tunes) in dancing at the time of the vintage, being derived from ns, a winepress. He mentions another explanation of non, referring it to the nations trampling on Israel as on the wine. Most explain it as an instrument, either of the shape of a winepress, or one which came from the town of Gath, or belonged to Obed Edom.

J.R. י"א דוד ירקד וישחק לפני ה' כאיש שידרוך בנת. וי"א ישים אויבי אחד ישראל תחת כפות רגליהם וידריכם כגת. וי"א זה המזמור אמר אותו אחד מבני עובד אדום הגתי. וי"א הוא שם כלי שמו אורנגון ימלאהו רח ויזרו מבני עובד אדום הגתי. וי"א הוא שם כלי שמו אורנגון ימלאהו רח ויזרו . There are various opinions concerning the word הגתית כמוהו עשה מלך אדום ושמו גתית opinions concerning the word : 1. David danced and rejoiced before God like a man who treads the winepress; 2. David will place the enemies of Israel under their feet, and tread upon them; 3. This Psalm was composed by one of the children of Obed Edom of Gath; 4. An instrument like an 'organon,' which is filled with air, and let out as is the case with a התית, a winepress. Such an instrument a king of Edom made, and its name was Gittith.

Tm. الله اسم الله من الالات الطرب. وفيل انه اسم لحن من الألات الله وعلى الوجهين فهو منسوب الى עובר ארום הגתי من الألات والمصالحات الى انه كان له فيه لحن ما يقوله في المصالحات الى انه استخرج والمصالحات الى انه كان له فيه لحن ما يقوله في المات الله موافقة لذلك . An instrument (so also S. D.) or a tune; in both cases it must be referred to Obed Edom of the Levites, who had the speciality of them for the Temple service.

Imm. says on the melody sung at the winepress or made concerning a woman of Gath.

למנצח על מות לבן....PSALM IX.

Ο΄. εἰς τὸ τέλος ὑπὲρ τῶν κρυφίων τοῦ υἰοῦ ψαλμός (ΠΊΔ) from Τοῦν, to hide). ᾿Α. νεανιότητος τοῦ υἰοῦ μελφόημα (youth, from Τοῦν). Σ. περὶ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ υἰοῦ. ἄσμα (ΠΊΔ) των words, on the death). Θ. Ε΄. ὑπὲρ ἀκμῆς τοῦ υἰοῦ. Ψαλμός. S΄. νεανκότης τοῦ υἰοῦ.

I. propter occulta filii (like O'). V. pro occultis filii.

Tg. לשבחא על מיתותא דנברא די נפיק מביני משריתא. To praise, on the occasion of the death of the man who came out from the camp (Goliath).

قول لداود يسمع به المواظبون من الـ13 الليواني بلُعن خفي 8.

השדתם: تفسير احد هذه الثمانية للحان لحن يقال له עלמות وهو مسترق خفى يتصرّف من נעלם فاذا نسب صار עלמות فلان وفى الليوانيين To praise, by the constant (Levites) of Ben the Levite, with a hidden tune. That is, one of the eight tunes, which is called מַלְּמָה derived from אַלְמָה, which becomes אַלמות the construct form. There was a chief Levite with the name of מון (I Chron. xv. 20)1.

D. A. says²: 12 means a combat. Some commentators think that this title refers to the death of Absalom, but that is contrary to the behaviour of David, as described in 2 Sam. xix. 1. Others refer it to the death of the child of Bathsheba, an opinion which has no value. Others take בל for נבל, which I shall not even take the trouble of refuting. Others take על מות as one word, 'youth,' and מל as 'white,' translating 'the youth which became white;' this is against all grammar. I take it as follows: 'To the instigator, on the occasion of the death of the champion Goliath (I Sam. xvii. 14), the > is euphemistic, as in Arabic sometimes. [I have explained this more explicitly in my commentary on the Psalms, where I have shown that 12 is connected with ETR חבנים, and that this last has nothing to do with the word ב. עלמות consists of two words, viz. אין and מות, 'upon the death.' The Massorah has made it one word here and Ps. xlviii. 15, as in על־בן (Ps. lxxx. 16), על־אם (Jer. xv. 18), and elsewhere.]

قالوا قوم تفسير על מות يريد כלי שיר كقوله על עלמות שיר .8y ويقول ايضا בנבלי על עלמות. ومعنى לבן וسم الמשורר בן وهو رئيس من رؤساء الמשוררים كقوله ועמהם אחיהם המשנים זכריהו בן ועוואל ונ': والاقرب عندى ان تفسير על מות يريد خفاياء الذنوب كقوله עלמנו למאור מניך مثل מלאו עלומיו. وقوله לבן يريد بياض اى نقينا وبيّضنا من الذنوب كقوله תכבסני ומשלג אלבן وقال אם יהיו חמאיכם כשני כשלי ילבינו: وبجوز ايضا [ان] עלמות يريد ايام الحداثة والصبى يشتى من עלם وעלמה اى ما جرى في ايام الحداثة من الذنوب بيّض واغفر ولا تذكر وبلاها من ינהננו עלמות. كقوله חמאות נעורי ופשעי ונ'. ويكون اشتقاق עלמות من ינהננו עלמות. ومذا القول عندى اجود من كل قول وهو قريب. ولم اذكر كل قول

Dunash attributes another explanation to Saadyah, viz. upon the death of Bes, one of the Levites, and that the י in בון is prosthetic. See also I.E. This opinion Dunash may have found in the larger commentary of Saadyah. Further on Dunash gives Saadyah's explanation as in the text. Dunash himself takes בון as a proper name of a warrior, who fought with his tribe against David, and who perished. See Dr. Margulies' essay (see p. 11, note 2), pp. 22, 24.

³ For the text, see Journal Asiatique, 1862, i. p. 383.

instrument, and ז as a chief of musicians (1 Chron. xv. 18). Others explain עלמות 'the hidden sin' (comp. Ps. xl. &; Job xx. 11), and לבן 'whiten,' i. e. purify us (make us white) from sin (comp. Ps. li. 9; Is. i. 18). Possibly number is derived from by 'youth' (comp. Ps. xlviii. 15), i. e. make white from all which passed in the days of youth, forgive and do not remember it (comp. xxv. 7). I agree best with the last opinion.

Y. also reports several opinions: 1. On the death of the son, either the one born to Bathsheba, or Amnon, or Absalom. 2. Upon the death of Goliath, called איש הבנים (1 Sam. xvii. 4). 3. On the death of Nabal (נבל= לבן; so S.D.). 4. Instrument of Ben the Levite. 5. The white youth (see Sy.). 6. (Which he prefers himself), "O Lord, make the ignorance (sin) of Israel white,' taking עלמות as one word derived from העלם יעלימו (Lev. xx. 4) and בן an imperative form from לבן 'white.' I.E. and Q. also mention several explanations which agree with those already enumerated. In one of them the following explanation is given: On the death of a prince of the name of Labben. Rashi-after refuting some of the explanations mentioned above—says, that the Pesigtha refers this to Amalek. Rashi himself applies the Psalm to the Messianic time when Israel will be regenerated (young) and white (without sin). He adds that Menahem ben Sarug explains, to learn to sing with the instrument of Almuth (להבק as להבק). Then follows the explanation of Dunash.

J.R. י"א הוא כלי מכלי השיר ככתו' עלמות לנצח. וי"א עלמות נבל לבן. וי"א על איש הבינים גלית ויהיה לבן הַבֵּן על מות הוא מהופך נבל לבן. וי"א על איש הבינים גלית ויהיה לבן הַבִּן על מות הבנים. וי"א על מות אבשלום אשר הוא בן. וי"א על מות יהיה לבן ויסלח וי"א על עונות נעורים אשר ימי הנעורים הוא עלמות יהיה לבן ויסלח ככתו' אם יהיו חמאיכם כשנים כשלו. וי"א על מות ישראל שהוא בן על מיתת משורר ה' The opinions given by Jacob here and elsewhere are already mentioned by older commentators. It will be therefore superfluous to quote him any more. The same is the case with Ali. The Karaitic commentators and lexicographers, as already stated ', are less original than the Rabbanitical ones.

PSALM XVI.--מכתם לדוד.

Ο΄. Θ. στηλογραφία τῷ Δαυίδ (1 ΠΠΟ), see Ali). ΄Α. τοῦ ταπεινόφρονος καὶ ἀπλοῦ τοῦ Δαυίδ. Σ. (τοῦ) ταπεινόφρονος καὶ τοῦ ἀμώμου Δαυίδ 1 See p. 27. (both dn, gr; see Tg. to Ps. lvi). Ε΄. S΄. μαχθάμ τοῦ Δανίδ (transliteration of dnd).

I. V. tituli inscriptio ipsi David.

Tg. גליפא תריצא לדוד. Straight (elegant) writing of David.

طرق لداود يقول فيه: أن الطرق في لغة العرب مقام الفن .Beculiar expression. No derivation is given by Saadyah.—Lacuna in Sy.

D.A. דוליבת לדוד בפנט וני לא שם ללש וליישב ולת פאם פעל בל אסיך. 'Stain of David,' showing that there is a spot in this Psalm, as it is said, ver. 4, 'Their drink offerings of blood will I not offer.'

A. W. it is possible that מכתם is derived from both, precious gold and stain.

Anon. בְּרֵים אָרוֹ. פְּרֵים אַרוֹ. פִי שמזטור זה יקר וחשובים ויקרים כזהב וכן כלשון הזה כלו שבו דברים נעימים ונכונים וחשובים ויקרים כזהב וכן כלשון הזה שטעו כי ננידים אדבר. הנה כתבתי לך שלישים שרו' לומ דברים יקרים וחשובים כננידים ושלישים שהם חשובים ויקרים, וכדרך שקורין לדברים החשובים והנכונים מרנליות וכן לשון עדות לאסף שפי' פאר וחמדה הוא החשובים והנכונים מרנליות וכן לשון עדות לאסף שפי' פאר וחמדה הוא לאסף או שהם דברי פאר וחמדה מן ועדית עדי שהוא ענין תכשים בתם Salmo preciado, i. e. this Psalm contains precious words like איכתם שהור means gold, as it is said (Prov. viii. 6), 'Hear, for I will speak of excellent things,' and (Prov. xxii. 20), 'Have I not written to thee excellent things?' i. e. things excellent like princes and chiefs. In the same way precious words are called 'pearls.' And this is meant by the title און (Ps. lxxx. 1), an ornament to Asaph, or words of ornament and delight, derived from ועדית (Ezek. xxiii. 40), which has the meaning of ornament.

Y. refers this Psalm to David's dynasty, and to the child who would usurp his kingdom for a certain time, like a stain which remains in a cloth, מכחם is therefore derived from מחבלים ביפוט הגי ולמומור הני וجل ان فية ذكر دولته كقولة . (Jer. ii. 22). محرات دولا خر دولات من المحرات دولات المحرات دولات المحرات دولات المحرات فمعنى صحال مو ان الولد الذي ينتحل ملكة على مدّ الزمان مثل الاثر الباقي في الثوب ولهذه اللفظة نظير في الروح، دولات ولهذه المحراة دولات ولهذه المحراة دولات ولهذه المحراة دولات المحراة د

Rashi gives for this word 'crown,' or on 'oppressed and blameless,' which Meiri refers to the tune.—I. E., besides his general opinion on the subject, mentions the explanation 'lovely Psalm,' derived from on cond of Immanuel.

It is remarkable that Ali gives in his dictionary an opinion that מכחם is to be taken as מכחב, which explains the LXX (Graets,

Pealmen, etc., p. 83), מכתם לדוד ונת equal base 10 ונק שנחם לדוד ונת equal base 10. במכתם במכתב equal base 10.

למנצח על אילת השחר--.PSALM XXII

ο΄. ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀντιλήψεως τῆς ἐωθινῆς (probably from ܐκ, strength,
 i. e. of the morn). ΄Α. ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλάφου τῆς ὀρθρινῆς. Σ. ὑπὲρ τῆς βοηθείας
 τῆς ὀρθρινῆς (from Νκ, strength, help, see S.).

I. V. pro susceptione matutina.

Tg. לשבחא לדור. To praise, על תקוף קרבן תרירא דקרצתא תושבחתא לדור. To praise, upon the strength of the daily morning sacrifice, praise of David.

אילות ולווי אילות ולאב, ולאב, ולאב, יש ולאב, יש איל פאילות ולאבור המודר مطلع الفجر لانى جعلت الاصل مشتقا من איל פאילות ולאנוי השודר مطلع الفجر البها لا تستحسن ان تقول طاقة ولما كانت اللغة المخرج البها لا تستحسن ان تقول طاقة المخرج البها لا تستحسن ان تقول طاقة المخرج البها لا تستحسن ان تقول طاقة المخرج اللغة ولما كانت اللغة المخرج المعارض المعارض

D. A. חלות פאר (פאר השחר פאר (פאר השחר בשל חלות חלות בשל חלות השחר בשל חלות השחר ושולה. וועשבית וושובים וועשבית וושובים וועשבית וושובים וועשבית וועשבות וועשבית וועש

Sy. and Y. translate, 'hind of the dawn,'—as a hind which looks for the hour at the dawn, so Israel at the end of the captivity will look for God their Lord.—Y. adds that this Psalm was said by the aid of the Holy Spirit.—So also Rashi, who mentions other opinions: amongst them is one which refers the Psalm to Esther.—I. E. quotes also some opinions: 1. 'Psalm on the dawn' literally; 2. The name of an instrument or beginning of a liturgy.

Meiri, of an instrument which begins with a weak tune like the dawn.—R. at the strength of the light.

Anon. פי כח עלות מן איילותי לעזרתי חושה פירו' מזמור שמנגנין בו בעלות השחר. ועל דרך הדרש משל על כנסת ישראל שהיא אילת אהבים בעלות השחר. ועל דרך הדרש משל על כנסת ישראל שהיא אילת אהבים הנשקפה כמו שחר ונכון הוא הוא שכל ענין המזמור על כנסת ישראל (Ps. xxii. 20), i.e. a Psalm to be said at the dawn. The Midrash refers it to the synagogue, which is likened to 'a loving hind that looketh forth as the dawn.' It is intended to apply the whole Psalm to the synagogue in exile.—S. D. the morning star.

PSALM XXXII.-לדוד משכיל.

Ο΄. συνέσεως τῷ Δ. ΄Α. τοῦ Δ. ἐπιστήμονος.

I. intellectus ipsi D. V. ipsi D. intellectus.

Tg. לדוד שכלא, intelligence.

S. الفصل المعالم به الناس ليعقلوا: ان قوله في وسط هذا الفصل المحلم المحترال المارح مع تعلق المارح ما جعلته عنوانا فقال المارح معردال المحتراج ان غرضه فيه تفهيم الناس العقل . To make a man intelligent. The words in verse 8, 'I will instruct thee and teach thee,' explain the heading.

Meiri says it is an instrument which stirs up the heart. Sy. translates 'prophecy.' Y. 'the right direction.'

A. W. translates 'hope and instruction;' P. 'hope.'

Tm. to Ps. lxxiv says as follows: قيل تعقّل وقيل نظر وتأمّل التامّل الأمور النظر فيها وباسبابها وفي كيفية والمعنيان متقربان لان التأمّل للأمور النظر فيها وباسبابها وفي كيفية. Understanding or reflecting. Both meanings are near one to the other. Reflecting on and seeing into a matter, for discovering the reasons of its causes or changes, are operations of the intellect.

אמור די אינטידימיינטו פי' מומור שכל להשכיל כמו לדוד בלו' שמשכילין להזכיר והוא שם מהכבד החמישיי ע"מ יתן אכל למכביר כלו' שמשכילין ממנו ענינים נכונים או כמשמעו לשון מפעיל כלו' שמומור זה משכיל ומבין ממנו ענינים נכונים או כמשמעו לשון מפעיל כלו' שמומור זה משכיל ומבין . Salmo de Entedimiento, i. e. Psalm of understanding to make others to understand, as להזכיר (Ps. xxxviii. I), which are both of the hiph'il form. It means either that people will learn from it right things, or in the usual sense, viz. this Psalm will make the nation to understand and be warned, as in ללמד (lx. 1), which means to teach the nation the matter of the Psalm.

Psalm XXXIII.—No title in the Hebrew text; most likely there was none in the LXX.

Ο΄. ψ. τοῦ Δ. Origen 88.78, ἀνεπίγραφος παρ' Ἑβραίοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς τρισίε¹. Ε΄. S΄. τῷ Δ.

I. in finem, psalmus ipsi D. V. psalmus D.

ان هنا الصحاد وان كان لم يجعل له: Saadyah writes as follows: قول صحداد وان كان لم يجعل له: (80) اذ قول صحداد عنوانا بالاقرب أن يكون معناه صحداد لا المارة (80) اذ Although . كان اكثرة تاديبا وتفهيما وايضاح عقل على سبيل كل صحداد this Psalm has not the heading , yet the contents of it would

¹ See Graetz, L. c., p. 267.

require it, for it is mostly an exhortation for improvement of conduct and development of the intellect.

ביוטור לרוד להוכיר....PSALM XXXVIII

- Ο΄. ψαλμός τῷ Δ. εἰς ἀνάμνησιν περὶ σαββάτου. Α. μελψόημα τοῦ Δ.
- I. ps. D., in commemoratione sabbati. V. ps. D., in rememorationem de sabbato.
- Tg. תשבחתא לדור רכרנא מבא על ישראל. Praise of David for the good remembrance of Israel.
- S. مجد لداود يذكر فيه بتّة. Praise of David to be remembered continually.
- A. W. translates 'praising.'—Rashi and an anonymous author explain, To remember the calamities of Israel.—Imm. says, That they may remember it, and pray in the time of misfortune.—Meiri explains it like ישביל, to wake up the heart.

.למנצח לידותון מומור לדוד....PSALM XXXIX

- Ο΄. τῷ Ἰδιθοὺν φὸδή. ᾿Α. Σ. Θ. ὑπὲρ Ἰδιθοὺν μελφόημα (Θ. φὸή).
- I. Edithun. V. ipsi Idithun.
- Tg. לשבחא על מטרת בית מקרשא על פמיה רירותון תושבחתא. To praise, for the watch of the Temple by the mouth of Jeduthun.
- 8. مجد لداود يسمع به المواطبون من الاتحاسل الليواني. Praise of David for the Levites of Jeduthun to recite.
- Sy. Some say that the prophecy is by Jeduthun and David; others say the prophecy was written by David and recited by Jeduthun, who is Ethan. All agree that the Psalm was composed by David, except I.E., who mentions an anonymous opinion to the effect that Jeduthun was the author of this Psalm.

למנצח משכיל לבני קרח...PBALM XLII.

- Ο΄. εls σύνεσιν τοις υίοις Κορέ. 'Α. Σ. επιστήμονος των υίων Κορέ.
- I. V. intellectus filiis Corae.
- Tg. לשבחא בשכלא מבא על יריהון רבני קרח. To praise, with good intelligence by the sons of Korah.
- 8. قول تفهيم وتعليم يسبح به المواظبين من دن ۱۳۱۹ الليواني. A word signifying understanding and learning with which the Levites of the sons of Korah praised.
- Y. says, Know that the first book is by David, except the first two Psalms; the next book is by the sons of Korah, seven by David and one by Asaph. The collector has separated them from the other, because they are connected together. اعلم ان الجزء الاول كله لدات غير אשרי האיש. למה רגשו. وهذه الجزء هي لدد חרה ولتات

ومزمور واحد لـ ١٦٥ فلما كانت فصول ١٥٦ متصلة في معانيها . فصّلها المدوّن وجعلها فصول متّصلة وافصلها من مزامير ١٦٦

PSALM XLV. שונים לבני קרח משכיל שיר ירידת.

Ο΄. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλοιωθησομένων τοῖς υἰοῖς Κορὲ εἰς σύνεσιν, ῷδὴ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ (מורכים 88 שושנים). 'Α. ἐπὶ τοῖς κρίνοις τῶν υἰῶν Κορὲ ἐπιστήμονος, ἀσμα προσφιλίας. Σ. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνθῶν τῶν υἰῶν Κορὲ, συνέσεως ἀσμα εἰς τὸν ἀγαπητόν. Θ. ὑπὲρ τῶν κρίνων τοῖς ἡγαπημένοις.

I. pro his quae (V. iis qui) commutabuntur, filiis Corae (V. ad), intellectum, canticum pro dilecto.

Tg. ירבי על יתבי סנהדרין דמשה האתאמר בנבואה על ידיהון לשבחא אודאתא . To praise the Sanhedrin of the time of Moses, which was spoken by prophecy through the sons of Korah, good intelligence, praise, and thanksgivings.

פער זיין אביי בוביי אושפייי: בייינו שיר ידידות פייים בני בייינו מידי אביי בוביי אושפיייי: בייינו שיר ידידות פייים בייינו מאדי פייינו שיר ידידות פייים בייינו (פייינו לפייינו (פייינו פייינו פיינו פיינו פייינו פייינו פייינו פייינו פיינו פייינו פייינ

للمستحت على زمان السواسن لبنى קרח رشد نشيد التوددات .٧ ذكر فى هذه العنوان ثلثة اشياء احدها هو لا طاهدات ويشير به الى שארית ישראל الممتلين بساسات حن بالسواسن يصيف وكذلك من شان السواسن تظهر فى زمان الربيع اذا بدا الزمان يصيف وكذلك مصح تدا يظهرون فى آخر الدائم الممتلة بالشتى كقوله در הده הסחו لاحد ومعنى اخر فى تمثيلهم بالساسات دون غيرها هو ان السواسن ليس لهما غير حسن فقط وكذلك سهدات اسلام مصاح تدا ليس لهم فى ذلك الزمان غير حسن طاعات فقط وليس لهم لا ملك ولا نعمة فى الدائم: والثانى لفظة صحدا والمعنى فيه هو ان فيه رشد للمسيع عم الدائم عليه ان يفعل حتى يستحق المواعد الجزيلة كما سنشرح بعد: والثالث هو قوله ساد الاسلام وقال الاحتام داهم النها بعد: والثالث هو قوله ساد التحالى للمسلم وليسات كثيرة منها محبّة الله تعالى للسلام ولمستحة وايفا محبّة الله تعالى للاحلام ولمستحة وايفا محبّة

ורייבות אורי דירות. Three' things are contained in this heading: I. The lily represents Israel amongst thorns, which at the end of the captivity will make its appearance like the lily in spring; or as the lily has no beauty, so are Israel in captivity, deprived of their king and robbed of happiness. 2. The word משכיל refers to the direction given to the Messiah, what he is to do in order to be worthy of the great and promised time. 3. 'Song of loves,' in the plural, for there are several loves, viz. the love of God to Israel and to his Messiah, and the love of the Messiah towards God and his nation.

Rashi refers the lilies to the wise men, like the Targum.

اسم الله من آلات التي يقال عليها الص اله وقيل انه اسم لحن .Tm. وطرقة من الطرائق: ساد الالتارا الالله اللهاد أي أنه نشيد مُعَبُوب مُستحسن يرغب في سماعة. والمفسّر تاوّلة على المحبّين فقال في وصف محبّى الله. والاقرب أن هذا القول قيل في ١١٦ أو سلامه وهو مديع فية وفي الملّة التي ملّكها التي لَشدّة حسنها وعناية الله بها ولا عليها مثل هذا الملك الجليل الحسن الفصائل المستقيم السيرة المحبوب عند الله وتضمّن مع ذلك دعاء له بالنصر والتابّد وهلاك The name of an instru- اعدانه واتلافهم بسلاحه واسلامهم في يديه ment or of a tune. ידירות is a description of שיר, i. e. a beautiful and beloved song, which is agreeable to hear. The commentator (Saadyah) applies it to lovers, i. e. to describe the lovers of God. The most probable opinion is that this Psalm is said concerning David or Solomon, to praise one of them together with the nation which made him their king. He is a king who has no equal in his qualities, and is beloved above others with God. The author of the Psalm combines with this praise a prayer to God that he may assist the king to subdue his enemies.

Meiri says it is an instrument to waken great love.—R. says it is a lyre.—Imm. It means a song of love and friendship, composed in honour of Solomon after his coronation and marriage, written with great skill, for it has also a mystical meaning, which is as sweet as a lily. He, however, says that possibly this Psalm is based on a song beginning with מושלים.—Anon. says that it is a song lovely as lilies, or it refers to an instrument or a tune.

PSALM XLVI. אמנצח לבני קרח על עלמות שיר.

Ο΄. ὑπὲρ τῶν νίῶν Κορὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν κρυφίων ψαλμός. ᾿Α. τῶν νίῶν Κορὲ ἐπὶ νεανιοτήτων μελφόζημα.
 Σ. τῶν νίῶν Κορὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν αἰωνίων φόζη.

I. V. [I. pro] filiis Corae pro arcanis.

Tg. לשבחא על ידיהן רבני קרח ברוח נבואה בזמן ראתכסי אבהון דיהון לשבחא על ידיהן רבני קרח ברוח נבואה דיהון המון המרו שירתא. To praise, by the sons of Korah, by the spirit of prophecy, at the time when their father was hidden from them, and they were saved and uttered the Psalm.

- S. قول يسبع به المواظبون من دن חרת بلعن خفى مسترق.
 Uttering with which the sons of Korah said praise in a low and subdued melody.
- D.A. آلات النشيد, an instrument.—A.W. a kind of pleasant song.—Tm. says, ألحن خفى رقيق حاد محرك للنفس على الرقة, a low and subdued melody, sharp, and moving the soul by its tenderness.

Anon. סילאסינטוש די קאנקו או קנקו די סילאסינטוש שיר בכלי נינון השר שקרלו ערב ונמוך ונעלם שאינו נשמע למרחוק ובער' עם באט ד"א שיר שעניניו נעלמים ונסתרים כי ענין המומור הזה מרבר על ענין זמן הנאולה שעניניו נעלמים ונסתרים כי ענין המומור הזה מרבר על ענין זמן הנאולה . An instrument which produces sweet and low [literally hidden] tones, which are not heard far off. Another opinion is, a song, the meaning being hidden, for this Psalm refers to the time of the redemption, which is unknown and hidden.

למנצח על מחלת משכיל לדור... PSALM LIII.

Ο'. ὑπὲρ Μαελὲθ συνέσεως τῷ Δ , 'Λ. ἐπὶ χορεία ἐπιστήμονος Δ . Σ. διὰ χοροῦ περὶ συνέσεως τοῦ Δ . Θ. ὑπὲρ τῆς χορείας συνέσεως τοῦ Δ . Ε'. ὑπὲρ τῆς χορείας.

I. pro Abimelech intellectus David. V. pro Maeleth intelligentiae David.

Tg. לשבחא על פורענתא דרשיעיא די מפסין שמא דקרים שכלא מבא יד דוד לשבחא על פורענתא די מפסין. To praise concerning the punishment of the wicked, who blaspheme the name of κύριος, good intelligence by David.

- Spoken by David. An instruction of wisdom with which the Levites praise in Jerusalem with drums.
- D. A. לא, drum.—Sy. חלים is an instrument, called also מלל and אליל, although it is rather different from those. Some say מחלח refers to the dominion of the Christians (ארום) and the Arabs מחלח), since Esau (ארום) married the daughter of Ishmael מחלח), since Esau (ארום) married the daughter of Ishmael מחלח בתחלות ובער' ליינע והוא כמין תף ועל כן הוא נזכר תמיד עם התוף במחלות ובער' ליינע והוא כמין תף ועל כן הוא נזכר תמיד עם התוף A kind of drum as אח, the two instruments are therefore mentioned together.

PSALM LVI.—אחוים לרוד מכתם באחז אותו למנצח על יונת אלם רחוקים לרוד מכתם באחז אותו

Ο΄, ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγίων μεμακρυμμένου, τῷ Δαυὶδ εἶς στηλογραφίαν, ὁπότε ἐκράτησαν αὐτὸν οἱ ἀλλόφυλοι ἐν Γέθ (808 Sy.). ᾿Α. ὑπὲρ περιστερῶς ἀλάλου μακρυσμῶν τοῦ Δαυὶδ ταπεινοῦ τελείου, ἐν τῷ κρατῆσαι αὐτὸν φυλιστιαίους ἐν Γέθ. Σ. ὑπὲρ τῆς περιστερῶς, ὑπὸ τοῦ φύλου αὐτοῦ ἀπωσμένου τοῦ Δ. τοῦ ταπεινόφρονος καὶ ἀμώμου, ὅτε κατέσχον αὐτὸν οἱ φυλιστιαίοι ἐν Γέθ. Θ. ὑπὲρ τῆς περιστερῶς Ε΄. ὑπὲρ τῆς περιστερῶς τῆς μογγιλάλου κεκρυμμένων τῷ Δ. εἶς στηλογραφίαν, ὁπότε ἐκράτησαν αὐτὸν οἱ ἀλλόφυλοι ἐν Γέθ.

I. V. pro populo, qui a Sanctis longe factus est, David in tituli inscriptione, cum tenuerunt eum Allophyli in Geth.

Tg. די מתרחקי על כנשתא דישראל דמתילא ליונה שתוקא בעדן די מתרחקי לשבחא על כנשתא וחזרין ומשבחין למרי עלמא היך דור מכיך ושלים כר אחרו מן קרויהן וחזרין ומשבחין למרי עלמא היך דור מכיך ושלים כר אחרו. To praise concerning the congregation of Israel, which is likened to a silent dove at the time when they are removed from their cities and return and praise the Lord of the world, like David, humble and perfect, when the Philistines took him at Gath.

S. وهذا طرق لداود يسبح به المواظبون وكان هو سبح به على كل الم المطهاد الجمع الابعدين حين مسكه الفلسطينيون في لا A kind of song with which the constant Levites praise. He uttered it concerning the submission of the distant congregation when the Philistines seized him in Gath.

לל החדבה على حمامة الرواق وهم بعيدين لداود اثر[۱] عند اخذ Sy. מלשתים ל في נת: قالوا معنى יונת אלם يربد ישראל ולمثلين بיונה كقوله ייהי אפרים כיונה פוחה ונ' وقوله אלם רחוקים الذين هم بعيدين من قدس رب العالمين. ولم ذكر אלם دون היכל ודביר وغير من المواضع

قالوا لان ثم موضع الشفاعة والبكاء للجمع كقول دم האולם התמובה יבכו הכהנים ונ'. وقوله החוקים يريد جمع تصديد الذي هم قد بعدوا من هذا الموضع فيجب عليهم يذكرواً باريهم ويفزعوا الله ويذكروا الموضع ولا ينسوا كقوله ادرا صحمام سر اله: وقالوا ملاه خرص يعني هذه آلحمامات الخرسا بين الملول وليس له פתחון פה كقوله ابدد כחרى לא אשמע ונ' פּוֹל ווָשׁוֹ שֹׁ בֹית דור נגש והוא נענה ולא יפתח פיו ונ'. وقال ١٦٦ هذه ألنبوة عند ما ضبطه الوالعاما في دم فابتدى بذكر الام אלם רחוקים עש"ש" וו باطن هذه النبوة على ישראל لانهم تعت يد Israel are likened to اعدائهم مقبوض عليهم كقوله אסירי עני וברול doves (Hosea vii. 11), who are far from the Temple (אולם, אלם). Others say that אלם means 'dumb,' for Israel is tortured and cannot open the mouth (Isaiah liii). This Psalm David composed when seized by the Philistines, but he began it with the dove in order that the title 'concerning Israel' should be understood.

Y. translates as Sy., and says, אול וונת אלם ג בי ווא דור אלם אונת אלם בי ווע אלם בי ווא דור الذي تمنّي وقال عد درال لا مدر دراله. وقوله ملم دراواه يشير به الي موضع في در وأسراه الذي اعتقلوه فيه الواسراه وقال المدون ان منا ألفاها موعلى ١٦٦ الذي اعتقل في حبس والهام الذّين مم بعيدين الذي ظِنّ ١٦٦ أنه بهروبه الى طالعات يتخلّص من عهاد وهذا من قلقه فلحقه ثم خوف شديد والمعنى في الله اادر المراه المام الماواه هو اله ... He refers it to David, who said of himself, 'Oh that I had wings like a dove' (Ps. lv. 7 [6]). אלם רחוקים refers to a place at Gath, where the Philistines kept him bound. The redactor of the book thought that this Psalm referred to David, who was kept prisoner by the Philistines, who were far off (מאלם) from מאלמים ו).

A. W. renders 'dove of distant castles.'-Q. says David called himself a dumb dove.-Meiri supposes it to denote an instrument which sounds like the cooing of doves.—R. the treachery (יונה from סה) of Elam, which promised help.

קונפניא די נונינקוש פי' חברת רחוקים מושאל מן והנה אנחנו Anon. (sic) מאלמים אלומים שהוא ענין אנידה כמו שהושאל גם כן והחברה והקבוץ מלשון אגידה. ויהי לאנודה אחת ואמ דוד זה המזמור בהיותו בגת על תאותו וחשקו לארצו ולמשפחתו. ורמה עצמו וסיעתו ליונה המרחקת נדוד כמו שאומ מי יתן לי אבר כיונה. הנה ארחיק נדוד. כלומ שהיו רחוקים מארץ ישראל. ד"א יונת אלם מעניו מי ישום אלם. כלומ שהיו נודדים מארצם כיונה המרחקת נדוד ויושבין שם כאלמים שלא היו יכולין לדבר מפחד חה הנכח. 'A society of far distant men,' derived from מאלמים (Gen. xxxvii. 7), i.e. David compares himself and his com-

panions, when in Gath, as a dove which is flying far off, being far away from the land of Israel. The right explanation is 'like a dove far away and dumb, being afraid to speak.'

למטצח אל תשחת לדור מכתם בברחו מפני--PRALM LVII. שאול במערה.

Ο΄. μὴ διαφθείρης, τῷ Δαυὶδ εἰς στηλογραφίαν, ἐν τῷ αὐτὰν ἀποδιδράσκεων
 ἀπὸ προσώπου Σαοὺλ εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον.
 Σ. περὶ τοῦ, μὴ διαφθείρης, τοῦ
 Δανὶδ τοῦ ταπεινόφρονος καὶ ἀμώμου (᾿Α. ταπεινοῦ τελείου).

I. V. ne disperdas, David in tituli inscriptionem, cum fugerunt (V. fugeret) a facie Saul in speluncam.

Tg. לשבחא על עקתא בזמן די אמר דור לא תחבל אתאמר על יד. To praise concerning the calamity when David said, 'Do not destroy;' said by David, humble and perfect, when he fled before Saul to the cave.

dرق لداود يسبع به المواظبون وكان هو سبع به وقت هربه من 8. مرق لداود يسبع به المواظبون وكان هو سبع به وقت هربه من 18 لا نهاله . A kind of song by David, with which the Levites praise, and which David composed when flying from Saul to the cave, asking in it not to destroy.

PSALM LX1.—למפצח על שושן עדות מכתם לדוד ללמד

Ο΄. τοῖς ἀλλοιωθησομένοις ἔτι εἰς στηλογραφίαν τῷ Δαυὶδ εἰς διδαχήν.
 ᾿Α. ἐπὶ κρίνων μαρτυρίας ταπεινοῦ τελείου τοῦ Δαυίδ.
 Σ. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνθῶν μαρτυρία τοῦ ταπεινόφρονος καὶ ἀμώμου τοῦ Δαυὶδ εἰς διδαχήν.

I. (V. pro) his qui immutabuntur, in tituli inscriptionem (V. ipsi) David, in doctrinam.

Tg. לשבחא על עתיק סהרותא די בני יעקב ולבן פרשנן על יד רור לאלמא. To praise concerning the old witness of the sons of Jacob and Laban, a copy by David for teaching.

8. وهذا طرق لداود يسمح به المواظبون بلحن يلقب بالسوسن وكان This is a kind of song of David with which the Levites praise with a tune called Susan, and its object is to make generally known the help of God.

لمستحتّ على سوسن الشّهادة اثر[ا] لداود للتعلّيم: معنى .Sy

Y. translates as Sy. The following is his commentary: על שושן גַייבות או ווא וואייבות וואייבות או אייבות או או אייבות אייבות או אייבות אייבות או אייבות אייבות או אייבות אייבות אוייבות או אייבות אייבות או אייבות אייבות אייבות אייבות אייבות אייבות או אייבות אייבות או אייבות אייבות אייבות או אייבות אייבות אייבות אייבות או אייבות אייבות או אייבות אייבות או אייבות אייבות או אייבות אייבות או אייבות

A. W. שרות שורות אורות. Golden, so שושן עדות.—Rashi applies it to the Sanhedrin. See the anonymous author.—Meiri and Remokh take אונין אורות as a choice instrument (from עדות).—M. takes לחוכיר = ללכוד , i. e. to stir up the heart. Thus a noble instrument chosen for teaching and to stir up the heart.—R. to teach Israel to pray.

שיר נחמד כשושן. עדות דֵי פֵירְמוֹשוֹדָא פי' ענין פאר וחמדת . ותכשים ויופי מן ואעדך עדי כלו' שדבריו נחמדים ונפארים כתכשים. וכן מכתם שדבריו יקרים כזהב כמו שאמרנו וכו ויתו עליו את הנזר ואת העדות. ד"א על עדותו של סנהדריו שנמשלו לשושנים שהעידו להלחם בארם ובבני עמון ובארום כמו שיתפרש' לדוד: ללמד פי' ללמד ולהבין עניניו כדי להלל להק'ב'ה. ד'א כשנצטר'ך דוד שילמדוהו מה יעשה כשנלחם עם ארם שאל לסנהדרין אם מותר להלחם בם מאחר שנשבע יעקב ללבן שלא יעבור אליו את הגל לרעה (see Targum). A song pleasant like a lily. ערות means beauty and ornament, like סכתם, meaning that his words are beautiful like a jewel. Others say that עדות means the witness (decision) of the Sanhedrin, who are likened to lilies; the Sanhedrin advised David to make war upon Aram, Ammon, and Edom. ללמר means to teach and to understand how to praise God. Others say, to learn from the Sanhedrin whether it was allowable for him to wage war upon Aram, after the agreement made between Laban and Jacob (Gen. xxxi. 52).

למכנת על שושנים לדוד.....PSALM LXIX.

O'. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλοιωθησομένων τῷ Δ αυίδ 1 . ᾿Α. τῷ νικοποιῷ ἐπὶ κρίνων τοῦ Δ αυίδ. $\mathbf Z$. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνθῶν.

I. V. pro his (V. pro iis), qui commutabuntur.

Tg. לשבחא על נלות סנהדרין על יד דור. To praise concerning the exile of the Sanhedrin by David.—S. as above .—Y. שושנים, the remnant of Israel, who are in exile and suffering.

למנצח לדוד להזכיר—Psalm LXX.

- Ο΄. τῷ Δαυὶδ εἰς ἀνάμνησιν, + εἰς τὸ σῶσαί με κύριον (τοῦτο ἐν ἐνίοις μἐν ἀντιγράφοις εῦρον, ἐν ἐνίοις δὲ οῦ· πλὴν οῦτε παρὰ τῷ Ἑβραίῳ, οῦτε παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐρίσκεται). ᾿Α. τοῦ Δ. τοῦ ἀναμιμνήσκειν.
- I. V. psalmus D. In rememorationem, quod salvum fecerit eum Deus.

Tg. לשבחא על יד דוד למדכר על צרוך לבונחא. To praise by David to remember the use of incense.

8. قول لداود يسبح به المواظبون بذكر الله. A composition of David's with which the Levites praise in remembrance of God.

Other commentaries as above. Ps. xxxviii.

PSALM LXXV.—למנצח אל תשחת מומור לאסף שיר.

Ο΄. μὴ διαφθείρης, ψαλμὸς φόδης τῷ ᾿Ασάφ. Σ. περὶ ἀφθαρσίας ψαλμὸς τοῦ ᾿Ασάφ.

I. ne corrumpas, psalmus Asaph Canticum (V. cantici Asaph).

Tg. לשבחא בומן די אמר דוד לא תחבל עמך תושבחתא על יודוי ראסף לשבחא בומן די אמר דוד לא תחבל עמך תושבחתא על יודוי ראסף. To praise at the time when David said, 'Do not destroy thy people.'

S. الاهرة المراه المراه المراه المراهبون تشقعا يقولون لا تهلك Praise by David with which the Asaphite Levites praise, interceding and saying, 'Do not destroy.'

All commentators agree that David prays to God not to destroy Israel.

PSALM LXXVII.—למנצח על ידותון לאסף מזמור.

Ο΄. ὑπὲρ Ἰδιθοὺν ψαλμὸς τῷ ἸΑσάφ. ἸΑ. ἐπὶ Ἰδιθοὺμ μελφόημα τῷ ἸΑσάφ. Σ. διὰ Ἰδιθοὺμ φὸὴ τοῦ ἸΑσάφ.

I. pro Idithum, huic Asaph Psalmus. V. pro Idithun, psalmus Asaph.

Tg. משבחא על יד ידותון לאסף תושבחתא. To praise, by Jeduthun, to Asaph a Psalm.

¹ See Ps. xlv.

³ See Ps. xlv.

S. חודה פהגו مجد يسبع به المواطبون من العموم . This is a Psalm with which the constant (Levites) descendants of Asaph and Jeduthun praise.

Y. The prophecy came to Jeduthun and rested upon Asaph by the Holy Spirit.—Meiri takes אל ידותן as לידותן, to Jeduthun.

למנצח על שושנים עדות לאסף מומור –.PSALM LXXX

- Ο΄. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλοιωθησομένων μαρτύριον τῷ ᾿Ασὰφ, ψαλμὸς [ὑπὲρ τοῦ ᾿Ασσυρίου]. ᾿Α. Σ. ὑπὲρ τῶν κρίνων μαρτυρίας (ἀνθῶν μαρτυρία) τοῦ ᾿Ασὰφ μελφόημα.
- I. V. pro his (V. iis) qui immutabuntur (I. in) testimonium Asaph pro Assyrio (V. psalmus).

Tg. לשבחא על יתבי סנהררון די מתעסקין בסהדות אוריתא על יודוי דאסף תושבחתא. To praise, respecting the Sanhedrin, who are busy with the testimony of the law, by Asaph praise.

8. بلعن مجد شهادة يسبع به المواظبون من الهجم بلعن ملقب. Praise of testimony with which the Asaphite Levites praise with a tune called Susan.

Rashi refers the Psalm to Israel, who witnessed the three captivities.—I. E. 'Ty, according to A. W. a beautiful thing.—Q. does not accept this explanation, but says that the meaning is unknown.—Meiri, who refers it to an instrument, quotes the opinion that TYP=PR, a fixed rule for this instrument.—Anon. quotes the opinions already given.

PSALM LXXXI.—Compare above, Ps. vii.

S. פֿעל ביידים איז ולעובר ארום ולנורי פול אסף. An utterance with which the constant Levites of the families of Obed Edom of Gath and of Asaph praise (in Ps. lxxxiv, and of Korah).

PSALM LXXXVII.--לבני קרח מומור שיר.

The Greek and Latin translators treat the words 'His foundation' etc. as a separate verse (comp. A. V.).

Tg. אראמר שירתא רמתיסד על פום אבהתא דעל ידיהון רבני קרח אתאמר שירתא דמתיסד על פום אבהתא By the sons of Korah this Psalm is uttered, being based upon the mouth of the fathers of old.

8. الفنس الذي التي الذي التي القنس الذي القنس الذي Praise with which the Levites, the sons of Korah, praise; a description of the Temple, the foundations of which are on the Temple mount.

Y. The basis of this Psalm is the description of the excellence of the holy mountains; comp. Ps. lxxxvii. 3. Others say the Psalm describes the foundation of the glory of God.

I.E. says that the Psalm was composed by one of the grand-children of Samuel; the Psalm refers to the foundation of the holy mountains. So also Q.

PSALK LXXXVIII.—שיר מומור לבני קרח למנצח על מחלת לענות משכיל להימו האזרחי.

Ο΄. φόλ ψαλμοῦ τοις υίοις Κορέ, εἰς τὸ τέλος ὑπέρ Μαελέθ τοῦ ἀποκριθήναι, συνίσεως Αἰμὰν τῷ Ἰσραηλίτη. ᾿Α. Σ. ἦσμα μελφδήματος τῶν υίῶν Κορέ, τῷ νικοποιῷ τῷ ἐπὶ χορείᾳ (Σ. διὰ χοροῦ) τοῦ ἐξάρχειν, ἐπιστημοσύνης τῷ Αἰμὰν τῷ Ἰσραηλίτη.

I. V. psalmus cantici filiis Corae (V. canticum psalmi), in finem, pro Maleleth ad respondendum, intellectûs Aemat (V. Eman) Istrahelitae.

Tg. שירא ותושבחתא על ידיהון דבני קרח על צלותא לשבחא שכלא. Song and praise by the sons of Korah, concerning a prayer to praise good intelligence by Heman the native.

פגין مجد يسبح بع المواطبون من בני חדר بتطبيل واجابة . ويقم يجاوبونهم الהימן الאזרחי: عنوان هذا الصعاد يظن انه لثلثة انفس والامر كما قدمنا ان جملة السفر لداود وانما هذا الصعاد دفعة الى حدن חרו וحدن הימן يسبحون به فامر حدن חרו ان يضربوا بالطبول وبنى הימן بجاوبونهم كقوله לענות وهذه اللفظة وعلى انها مدغشة فهى تصلح ان تنصرف الى الجواب مثل قوله حداه ההוא כרם חמר ענו . Praise, with which the Korahite Levites praise with drums, and the Hemanites give the intelligent responses. The meaning of this Psalm is that there are three composers, but it is as we said, that the whole book is by David, but this Psalm he handed over to the sons of Korah for the music, and the Hemanites for responses, which is the meaning of לענות (Isaiah xxvii. 2).

Rashi explains מחלת לענות Israel being sick and oppressed. Heman, one of the sons of Zerah, who are called sons of שחאל because they have composed Psalms.—Q. says the same.—Meiritakes מחלח as an instrument.—Anon., a well-known Psalmist.

I. E., although, as usual, explaining of a liturgy, refers it to the sickness of the Psalmist, and explains לענוח as meaning to answer; comp. קול ענוח (Exod. xxxii. 18). He quotes the Karaite Joshua, who says that Heman was a grandson

of Samuel, who is called האורה because he was familiar with the singers, most of whom spring from his family. Others say the min is the same as היו, i.e. son of Zerah, his brother being Ethan. Others say that Heman and Ethan are brothers, sons of Ezra.—Tm. is of the same opinion.—A. D. renders של לענות by الغنا, to sing; so also Anon. por cantar.

PBALM LXXXIX.—יטשכיל לאיתן האורחים.

Ο΄. Αλθάμ τῷ Ἰσραηλίτη, "Αλλος" Αλθάμ τῷ Ζαραίτη, "Αλλος" Αλθάν τῷ "Εζραίτη.

I. Intellectûs Heman Istrahelitae. V. Intellectus Ethan Ezrahitae. Tg. שיכלא מבא ראתאמר על ירא דאברהם דאתא מן מדינתאי. Good intelligence uttered by Abraham, who came from the east.

Other commentators agree that Ethan was one of the singers, except Remokh, who says that he was one of the ten elders.

חפלה למשה XC.--חפלה למשה.

0'. Προσευχή Ι. V. Oratio

Tg. צלותא דצלי משה נביא דיי' כד חבו עמא בית ישראל במדברא.
Prayer which Moses, the prophet of God, prayed when the people of Israel sinned in the desert.

S. صلوة يسبح بها بنو موسى رسول الله . Prayer with which the [Levites of the] sons of Moses prayed.

The opinions on this Psalm are summed up in the following lines of the anonymous commentator: ובחבו אכור שמא משה אכור שמא מדרו ובחבו ויש לוכ' כי דויד עשהו לבני משה הלוים לנגן בו כמו דד בכלל מזמוריו. ויש לוכ' כי דויד עשהו לבני משה הלוים לנגן בו כמו שנתן לאסף לבני קרח לידותן. ורבו' דרשו י"א מזמור יש מכאן ועד שבמים לדויד מזמור וכלן אמרן משה וכנגדן בירך י"א ברכות לאחד עשר שבמים. Some say that Moses composed this Psalm, and David incorporated it in his collection; others think that David is the author who gave it to the sons of Moses, the Levites, for recitation, just as he did with Asaph, the sons of Korah, and Jeduthun. The rabbis say that Moses is the author of this Psalm and of the following ten; and so Moses blessed eleven tribes with eleven blessings (Deut. xxxiii).

פומור שיר ליום השבת-...PSALM XCII.

Ο΄. ψαλμός φόης (Σ. ασμα ψαλμοῦ) είς την ημέραν τοῦ σαββάτου.

I. V. psalmus cantici, in die sabbati.

Tg. שבחא ושירא די אטר אדם קרטאה על יוטא דשבתא. Praise and song which Adam, the first man, said upon the sabbath day.

PRALM CIII.-- ,

Ο'. τῷ Δαυίδ. Ι. V. ipsi David.

Tg. על ידי דוד אחאמר בנבואה. Spoken by David in a prophecy. The Greek and Latin translations, as well as the Targum, kept the word הללויה. LXX in some MSS. דּהָּב פֿאָניסדףסיקה 'Ayyalov במו Zaxaplov.

8. سبحوا الازلى وقولوا, praise the eternal and say.

Tm. has already forestalled the modern critics. He says: معنى المداية كانه يامر الجمع ويدعوهم ان يشاركوه في التسبيع ويكونوا معه جملة وهم الصحاح والرحاح الذين سيذكرهم بقوله في موضع اخر لادا داده لاهم وهكنا كل موضع يبتدى فيه الملاحات معناه معناه . The meaning of الملاحات at the beginning is to call on the congregation to join him in the praise of God. Compare Ps. xcv (see Graetz, Psalmen, etc., p. 9).

PSALM CXX.—שיר המעלות.

Ο΄. Θ. φίδη (Θ. φσμα) των ἀναβαθμών. 'Α. Σ. είς τὰς ἀναβάσεις.

I. canticum ascensûm. V. canticum graduum.

Tg. שירא דאתאמר על מסוקין דתהומא. Praise uttered concerning the rising of the deep 1.

S. تسبيم لله برفع صوت. Praise with a loud voice.

D. A. الدرج., degree. All commentaries agree that these fifteen Psalms were recited by the Levites on the fifteen steps leading from the Court of the men to that of the women in the Temple.—Q. quotes an opinion that it refers to the ascent (comp. now, Ezra vii. 9) from exile, by which Israel will be restored to its own God.—Remokh makes the fifteen agree with the numerical value of m, Yah.

PSALM CXXVII.לשלמה

Ο΄. φὸἢ τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν (alia exempl. add. τοῦ Σολομών). 'Α. Σ. φσμα τῶν ἀναβάσεων Salomonis.

I. V. canticum graduum Salomonis (I. Solomonis).

Tg. על יד שלמה, by Solomon.

S. وتسبيح برفع صوت في ما يكون من سليمان. Praise with a loud voice in matters concerning Solomon; probably, as I. E. says, for Solomon, who wished to build the Temple.

¹ The legend in the Babylonian Talmud (Sukkah, fol. 53 a) says that when David was digging to find the deep, it rose tremendously and threatened to flood the world; then David said these fifteen Psalms and the deep retired.

From all these different expositions of the titles of the Psalms it is evident that the meaning of them was early lost; in fact the LXX and the other early Greek and Latin translators offer no satisfactory explanation of most of them. Of the best Jewish commentators like Ibn Ezra and David Qamhi, the former treats them as the opening words of popular melodies, the other as names of instruments, both confessing that the real meanings are unknown. Saadyah is no more successful; the Karaitic authors refer them mostly to the present exile, which is more Midrashic than the Midrash upon which the Targum is based. Immanuel and Remokh put Averroism in them and in the Psalms. The Syriac headings are a comparatively late production and arbitrary. That titles are omitted in the Hebrew text can be seen from the LXX: 23 (24); 24 (25); 26 (27); 28 (29); 30 (31); 32 (33); 37 (38); 42 (43); 47 (48); 65 (66); 69 (70); 70 (71); 75 (76); 79 (80); 90 (91); 92 (93); 93 (94); 94 (95); 96 (97); 97 (98); 98 (99); 99 (100); 103 (104); 104 (105); 106 (107); 113 (114)–118 (119); 135 (136); 136 (137); 137 (138); 142 (143); 143 (144); 145 (146); 146 (147); 148 (149). Thus when all traditional matter is exhausted, the only remaining resource is the critical method, which, however, on the present subject has as yet made no considerable progress.

AUTHORS AND WORKS QUOTED IN AN ABRIDGED FORM.

```
'A. = Aquila
   'E. = Quinta
                      (p. 9).
   o' = LXX
   Z. = Symmachus
   e. = Theodotion 1
Anon. = Anonymous Commentator (p. 32).
A.S. = Ali ben Soleiman (p. 27).
A. W. = Abu-'l-Walid (p. 24).
B. B. = (Jehudah) Ben Bal'am (p. 25).
D. A. = David ben Abraham (p. 20).
   I. = Itala (p. 9).
 I. E. = Abraham ibn Ezra (p. 25).
Imm. = Immanuel ben Solomon (p. 32).
 J. R. = Jacob ben Reuben (p. 27).
Men. = Menahem Meiri (p. 30).
M. N. = Moses ben han-Nesiah of England (p. 29).
   P. = Solomon Pirhon (p. 27).
   Q. = David Qamhi (p. 28).
   R. = Abraham Remokh (p. 30).
Rashi = Solomon of Troyes (p. 25).
   S. = Saadyah Gaon (p. 10).
S. D. = Saadyah ibn Danân (p. 32).
  Sy. = Salmon ben Yeroham (p. 18).
  Tg. = Targum (p. 10).
 Tm. = Thanhum of Jerusalem (p. 30).
   V. = Vulgate (p. 9).
  Y. = Yepheth ben Eli (p. 20).
```

¹ These five according to Field's Hexapla.

П.

THE ORIGIN AND MUTUAL RELATION OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.

[F. H. Woods.]

THE subject of this paper is one upon which so much has been already written, that it may seem to some to have been fairly threshed out. That this however is not altogether the case is clear from the variety of conclusions arrived at by those who have made the work their special study. very fact both justifies and necessitates a certain independence of judgment and treatment in any one who would solve for himself as much of these problems as seems possible. Where we have so many masters, none can claim absolute This was the reason why, some years ago, I began, for my own sake and that of my pupils, to attack this subject as freely and independently as possible; and the reason why I venture now to publish the results of my work is that. I found that, while they contained little that is absolutely new, they did not, as far as I could tell, exactly agree with those arrived at by others. At any rate there is, I believe, a considerable difference in some of the arguments adduced, and in the manner of treating them. It will be seen that the essential feature in the line of argument adopted is the importance attached to parallelism of sequence between the three Synoptics, as distinguished from mere resemblance in subject-matter and even language.

Though the general line of argument, and the rough draft of the Table, were in the first instance worked out independently, I afterwards obtained some valuable hints from Dr. Holtzmann's earlier work 1, and found Mr. Rushbrooke's

¹ Die Synoptischen Evangelien, 1863. But see p. 94.

Synopticon an invaluable help in revision. The publication of that book has rendered a service to the study of the Synoptic Gospels, which can never be too gratefully acknowledged ¹.

I should be glad to take this opportunity of expressing my indebtedness to my pupils, Mr. Green and Mr. Peake, and to Professor Sanday and the Rev. R. Shann, who, partly by actual co-operation and partly by their kind sympathy and encouragement, have lightened what seemed at times an almost hopeless task.

The first three Gospels in many parts resemble each other very closely, not merely in the subjects selected, but also in the order in which these subjects are given, the way in which they are treated, and frequently also in the actual language employed. In all these respects they present an obvious contrast to the evidently independent narrative of the fourth Gospel.

The first question we naturally ask is whether any one of these three Gospels was the source of the other two? Now if St. Matthew² or St. Luke were the original Gospel, we cannot at all satisfactorily explain the omission of so much important matter in St. Mark; and on the view that any one of the three is the original source, it is difficult to account in many cases for the alterations of language found in the other two. These objections taken together seem fatal to the originality of either St. Matthew or St. Luke, and the second raises at first sight a presumption against that of St. Mark.

Assuming then for the present that no one of these Gospels is the original, the next question which arises is whether we can trace in them any single common source which forms the basis or groundwork of all three; or whether the parallel passages are merely different forms of a number of scattered

¹ For some differences in arrangement of parallelism see p. 97.

² The names St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke are used throughout of the three first Gospels, or of the authors of these Gospels, without any intention of prejudging the question of actual authorship, with which this paper does not deal.

fragments of written or oral tradition, which have been pieced together by the several evangelists each in his own The latter alternative is rendered more than improbable from the fact that in many parts of the Gospels two of the Synoptists, and sometimes all three, follow for several chapters consecutively nearly the same order of This agreement in order is one of the most striking features in the first three Gospels; and the more closely we examine them, the greater it will be found to be. We are therefore bound to decide in favour of the first alternative. We then have to ask a further question. How far and by what methods can we trace this common basis? It is obvious, I think, that we are not justified at the outset in necessarily limiting it to what is actually common to all three Synoptists². This would be to assume that all three evangelists made a point of omitting nothing which they found in this original source. On the other hand it can, I think, be satisfactorily proved that in many cases the original element is only to be found in two of them, and in some few cases probably only in one.

I will now give the reasons which seem to me to prove conclusively that the original basis of the Synoptical Gospels coincided in its range and order with our St. Mark³. (1) The earliest and the latest parallels in all three Gospels coincide with the beginning and end of St. Mark. The first is the ministry of St. John the Baptist, the last the visit of the women to our Saviour's tomb. (2) With but few exceptions

¹ It is not argued that some Sammlung hypothesis may not conceivably be the true explanation of the first origin of the common source, but that it does not account directly for the composition of our Synoptical Gospels throughout.

³ This is done by Dr. Abbott (in his article in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, in which he carries out his view to all its logical absurdity).

² By our St. Mark here and throughout is meant our present Gospel according to the best critical texts, and excluding therefore xvi. 9-20, against the genuineness of which this inquiry alone will be found to add strong evidence. No Marcan section of anything like the same importance is absent from St. Matthew and St. Luke.

we find parallels to the whole of St. Mark in either St. Matthew or St. Luke, and to by far the larger part in both.

(3) The order of the whole of St. Mark, excepting of course what is peculiar to that Gospel, is confirmed either by St. Matthew or St. Luke, and the greater part of it by both.

(4) A passage parallel in all three Synoptists is never immediately followed in both St. Matthew and St. Luke by a separate incident or discourse common to these two evangelists alone. (5) Similarly in the parts common to St. Matthew and St. Luke alone, no considerable fragments, with some doubtful exceptions 1, occur in the same relative order, so that it is unlikely that they formed part of the original source.

(6) To this we may add the fact that in the same parts the differences between St. Matthew and St. Luke are generally greater than in those which are common to all three.

Not one of these arguments is of itself necessary to prove our point. That the Synoptists should have preserved so much of the original source and of its order, is for the Gospel student a happy accident which enables him to determine its limits with a certain degree of exactness. It may be added that arguments of a like kind could not be adduced to prove the priority of a Gospel resembling St. Matthew or St. Luke.

The first argument will hardly be disputed, but its real force is only fully felt when we bear in mind that the similarity of the first three Gospels consists in the phraseology, and even the sequence of phrases, as well as in the subject-matter. The second is based, not on the number of words and phrases which St. Mark has in common with St. Matthew or St. Luke, or with both, but on the amount of parallel matter taken in block, those parts being considered parallel which contain the same subject or subjects with a marked resemblance of treatment and language. The exceptions spoken of become quite insignificant if we regard the parable

¹ Cf. Matt. xii. 22-30 with Luke xi. 14-23; xii. 38-42 with xi. 29-32; xii. 43-45 with xi. 24-26. See pp. 77, 78. Perhaps we should add Matt. xii. 33-35 compared with Luke vi. 43-45.

of the tares (Matt. xiii. 24-30) as parallel to that of the seed growing secretly (Mark iv. 26-29), and the general statement of healings (Matt. xv. 30, 31) as parallel to the miracle of the deaf man of Decapolis (Mark vii. 32-37), and covering to a certain extent that of the blind man of Bethsaida (Mark viii. 22-26)¹.

The value of the fourth and fifth arguments may seem to depend on a too arbitrary distinction between what can or cannot be regarded as distinct incidents or fragments of history; but in no case does the parallelism of St. Matthew and St. Luke beyond their co-parallelism with St. Mark extend further than a few verses ². It is also noticeable that in the portions contained in St. Matthew and St. Luke alone there are, even within what are certainly separate incidents (such as the Temptation), greater variations of order than are usually found in the parts common to all three. But the full strength of these arguments, and also the sixth, can only be seen after a detailed comparison, the results of which it is difficult to tabulate.

The third argument is by far the most important, and requires some fuller explanation. When we say that the order of St. Mark is maintained either by St. Matthew or St. Luke, we mean the relative order, without taking into account the insertions by either of what is not in St. Mark at all, or the omissions from St. Mark by both. It is clear that this is all that is needed for our present argument, and adds greater weight to it than if the order had been exact. In a word, we find so general a tendency to state the facts of St. Mark in the order of St. Mark, that this order is very frequently preserved, even though the introduction of new matter or the omission of Marcan matter entirely changes the context. That there should happen to be no portion of St. Mark of which the order cannot be traced either in St. Matthew or St. Luke shows how far-reaching this tendency was. It may be added

¹ The ground for assuming such a parallelism is the order in which these passages occur (see Table). All that is intended here is that they suggest that the alternative in either case was known to St. Matthew.

The longest is Matt. iii. 7-10 | Luke iii. 7-9.

The Origin and Mutual Relation

64

that we do not at present think it necessary to take into account the transposition of single sentences (never exceeding a verse), such as the quotation Mark i. 3, as belonging rather to a later stage of the inquiry.

We will now test this third argument by an examination of the Table at the end of this essay. In the first place we find a long passage (a) Mark i. 2-iii. 6, generally parallel with Luke iii. 2 b-vi. 10. The only passage where this parallelism fails is i. 14 b-20, which St. Luke omits; but this is parallel to Matt. iv. 17-22, the position of which agrees relatively with St. Mark, Matt. iv. 13 b-16 being peculiar to St. Matthew, and Matt. iv. 12 being parallel to Mark i. 14 a. The parts of St. Matthew corresponding to a are contained in Matt. iii. 1xii. 14, and occur in nearly the same order as in St. Mark. Thus, Matt. iii. 1-iv. 22 is parallel to Mark i. 2-20, Matt. vii. 28 b, 29 with Mark i. 22, Matt. viii. 14-16 with Mark i. 29-34, Matt. ix. 1 b-17 with Mark ii. 1-22. There are only three omissions from St. Mark, two transpositions, and several insertions, the largest being the episode of the Sermon on the Mount (iv. 23 c-vii. 27). The parallelism of a with St. Luke overlaps a new parallelism of St. Mark with St. Matthew, which begins with Matt. xii. I || Mark ii. 23 and continues to xiii. 34 || Mark iv. 34 a, only two passages of any importance being omitted by St. Matthew, viz. Mark iii. 14-19 a, which he had anticipated in x. 2-4, and Mark iv. 21-24, but the Marcan position of both of these omitted passages is supported by the order of St. Luke, the first corresponding to Luke vi. 13 b-16, which follows vi. 12, 13 a || Mark iii. 13; the second to Luke viii. 16-18 a, which follows 4-15 || Mark iv. 1 b-20. In connexion with the first parallel it should be noticed that the correctness of the Marcan order of iii. 7-10 immediately after ii. 23-iii. 6, is supported by Matt. xii. 15 following after xii. I-14. This shows, what would be in itself probable from many similar transpositions in that Gospel, that St. Luke has transposed vi. 12-16 and 17 b-19. At Mark iv. 35 it is difficult at first to trace the parallelism of order; but it be-

comes evident on careful examination. It is clear enough that there is a general parallelism between Mark iii. 31-v. 43 and Luke viii. 4-56. In the last part of this, Mark iv. 35-v. 43 || Luke viii. 22-56, the parallelism is exact, and is supported moreover by Matt. viii. 18-ix. 25. But in the first part the parallel to Mark iii. 31-35 occurs in St. Luke after, instead of before, viii. 4-18 b. That here again St. Luke, and not St. Mark, has made the transposition is proved by the position in St. Matthew of xii. 46-50, which, but for insertions not contained in St. Mark, viz. xii. 33-45, follows upon xii. 31, 32 || Mark iii. 28, 29. The parallelism with St. Luke which began in Mark iii. 31-35 is continued down to Mark vi. 35-44 || Luke ix. 12-17. The only difficulty lies in Mark vi. 1-6, which is omitted by St. Luke, and its position not very clearly supported by St. Matthew. But the order of 6 b before 7-11 is confirmed by Matt. ix. 35 a before x. 1 (after the insertion of ix. 35 b-38), and that of vi. 1-6a indirectly both by Matt. xiii. 34 || Mark iv. 33, 34 a and Matt. xiv, 1, 2 || Mark vi. 14, because all the intermediate portions, both before and after Mark vi. 1-6 a, excepting a few verses omitted altogether by St. Matthew, had already been anticipated 1. The parallelism with St. Mark continues from Matt. xiv. to xxviii. 8 a || Mark vi. 14 to the end. The only breaks of order lie in the omission of Mark ix. 38-40, xii. 41-44 (both of which are confirmed by St. Luke), of Mark vii. 32-37 and Mark viii. 22-26 (which are quasi-parallel to Matt. xv. 30, 31), of Mark ix. 50 and xi. 25 (to which quasi-parallels had occurred in Matt. v. 13 a and vi. 14, 15), and also of a few passages not occurring at all in St. Matthew, and in the insertion of several passages which are, with very few exceptions 2, peculiar to St. Matthew. The slight variation in Mark xvi. 8b must be reserved for future discussion. By far the greater part of this long parallel is supported also by St. Luke, the chief variations being the entire

¹ The double parallelism of sequence with St. Mark, which is a peculiar feature of St. Matthew, is more fully discussed on p. 71.

Such as Matt. xviii. 7 and xxi. 44, if this last is genuine.

omission of Mark ix. 41-x. 12 (excepting perhaps ix. 42), and of a few other passages, the insertion practically of Luke ix. 51-xviii. 14, and several transpositions, especially in chaps. xxii. and xxiii, and the more important displacement apparently of Mark x. 42-45.

We may sum up the chief results of the previous examination thus. If we divide St. Mark into three parts, (a) i-iii. 6, (b) iii. 7-vi. 13, (c) vi. 14-xvi. 8, the relative order of a agrees exactly with St. Luke, and for the most part with St. Matthew; that of b with either St. Matthew or St. Luke, and in parts with both; that of c agrees exactly with St. Matthew, and for the most part with St. Luke. This division is merely convenient for purposes of comparison, and does not in any way point to different component parts of St. Mark's Gospel. Indeed, the way in which the parallels continually overlap and even intersect one another, shows clearly enough that St. Matthew and St. Luke depended on a whole Gospel in the Marcan order, and not on two or three evangelical records afterwards pieced together by St. Mark.

The only point in this examination to which we think any exception can possibly be taken is the argument employed to prove that the position of Mark vi. 1-6 a is confirmed by St. Matthew. The parallelism of order has been made out by excluding from consideration Marcan passages to which the parallels have already occurred in St. Matthew's Gospel. But we are certainly justified in doing so, because the evangelist would naturally avoid repeating what he had already related, and the position of all the omitted passages is confirmed by St. Luke, Mark iv. 35-v. 43 being parallel to Luke viii. 22-56, and Mark vi. 7-13 to Luke ix. 1-6.

It might be argued that the results arrived at by our examination would be equally accounted for on the hypothesis that the whole of St. Matthew and St. Luke existed previously to St. Mark, and that he compiled his Gospel from them ¹,

¹ Such was Griesbach's view, and he has been followed by many others. The chief argument for this view depends upon some peculiar features of St. Mark's language, and lies therefore beyond the limits of our present inquiry.

adopting now the order of one, now the order of the other. But the following objections seem fatal to such a (1) We cannot reasonably account for the remarkable omissions which St. Mark must continually have made, such as of the Birth and Childhood of our Lord, the details of the Temptation, the Sermon on the Mount, the full ministerial directions to the Apostles or the Seventy, and above all the accounts of our Lord's appearances after His Resurrection. All these are topics which would have become of increasing interest and importance as the Church grew; and it is extremely unlikely that we should find them in the earlier Gospels, and not in the later. (2) It is almost impossible to suggest any method by which St. Mark could have made his selections. (3) This view would not account for the order of St. Mark in several passages, especially in section b, and would certainly not explain how it is that the parallels with St. Matthew and St. Luke so frequently overlap. (4) Lastly, this view leads us into greater difficulties than those which it proposes to solve. The relations between St. Matthew and St. Luke, which the views argued out in this paper at least partially explain, become an almost hopeless enigma, at which we can only guess. We seem therefore forced to adopt the opposite alternative, viz. that St. Matthew and St. Luke both made use of a Gospel very nearly agreeing with our present St. Mark in its subjectmatter and the order of its contents. That agreement of order, let it be carefully noticed, is not limited to the larger episodes of our Lord's life, but generally extends to single incidents, and frequently even to more minute details. Our arguments have not proved either that this primary Gospel was verbally identical with our St. Mark, or that it was necessarily even written. But they certainly prove that it was a definite whole, as distinct from merely a collection of incidents in a recognized order, and give very good ground for supposing that it was regarded as an authorized account, so to speak, of our Lord's ministry. We will in future call this primary Gospel the Marcan tradition ¹, for want of a better phrase, which will not prejudge questions which have not yet been discussed.

It will now be our object to consider the relation which each of our three Synoptical Gospels bears to this original Gospel, confining our attention as before to portions of evangelical matter (not necessarily separate incidents) and their order, and not considering the minuter details or phraseology.

It is obvious at a glance that St. Matthew and St. Luke must have compiled their Gospels from other sources in addition to the Marcan tradition. Some of the passages so derived are peculiar to each Gospel, others are more or less parallel; but we find no positive proof of the existence of any one single body of narrative at all comparable with the Marcan tradition in point of size and completeness. difference of order, and in many cases the striking dissimilarities even in matters of fact, would seem rather to point to several distinct sources, and often to only an indirect connexion with them. Now it is obvious that the incorporation of fresh matter would be likely to modify in some degree the form and language of the new Gospel. And this is what we actually find. The marvel is indeed that these evangelists should have left so much of the earlier Gospel which they incorporated, in its original form and order.

We may at this stage take St. Mark's Gospel provisionally as representing very nearly the Marcan tradition, and compare it severally with the two other Synoptics. If we can thus explain their method of composition, it will add very strong additional proof of the close similarity between St. Mark and this primitive Gospel, and go some way even towards proving their identity.

To begin with St. Matthew. If we divide the part of the

¹ The phrase 'triple tradition' is an unsatisfactory title for what in several places has been preserved by only two evangelists, and sometimes perhaps by only one.

Gospel with which we are concerned into three sections, (a) chaps. iii-vii, (b) chaps. viii-xiii, and (c) chaps. xiv-xxviii. 8, we shall find that there is hardly a single break in the relative order as compared with St. Mark in a and c. The slight breaks in c arise merely, as we have seen, from the omission of two verses, Mark ix. 50, xi. 25, to which parallels or quasi-parallels had already occurred in the Sermon on the Mount. These are both striking sayings of our Lord, which would have been frequently repeated, and the language in St. Matthew and St. Mark differs very considerably. We may therefore safely conclude that they were not derived from the Marcan tradi-The only break in a arises from the displacement of Mark i. 21 a (as Matt. iv. 13 a) to before, instead of after, the call of the four Apostles. The chief cause of this transposition is clearly the insertion of the quotation from Isaiah in iv. 14-16. The prophecy is naturally quoted at the first mention of our Lord's ministry in Galilee in Matt. iv. 12 || Mark i. 14, but St. Matthew wishes to connect it also with the residence at Capernaum, seeing a special fulfilment of the words δδον θαλάσσης in this sea-side village (hence the addition of the explanatory epithet $\pi a \rho a \theta a \lambda a \sigma \sigma (a \nu)$. He therefore combines Mark i. 14 a and 21 a, but leaves 21 b in its original place, prefacing it by a repetition of the mention of Galilee, and inserting κηρύσσων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας, slightly altered from Mark i. 14 b. By a further modification of the language, διδάσκων έν ταις συναγωγαίς αὐτών for είσελθών είς την συναγωγην έδίδασκε, he makes it part of the introduction to the Sermon on the Mount. The general character thus given to this verse, and the introduction of the Sermon on the Mount, which gave a different reference to Matt. vii. 28 b, 29 || Mark i. 22, involved the omission of the special incident of the healing of the demoniac, Mark i. 23-28.

Our inquiry is now limited to chaps. viii-xiii. of St. Matthew. These chapters form the crucial difficulty in the composition of this Gospel. It is very important that we should clearly distinguish between the actual treatment of this part of the

Marcan tradition by St. Matthew and the principles or reasons which governed that treatment. The first is that with which we are now directly concerned, and is capable, as I hope to show, of definite demonstration: the latter belongs more to the special history of St. Matthew's Gospel. Our object is to prove that St. Matthew shows acquaintance with the corresponding portion of the Marcan Gospel in the Marcan order, and we can hardly more satisfactorily prove this than by showing that (supposing the Marcan tradition to have existed, for believing which we have already given good grounds) he has actually treated this in a certain way. Now if we omit from our consideration x. 15-xi, to which there is no parallel in St. Mark, we shall find that the portions before and after this, (a) viii-x. 14 and (β) xii. and xiii, form, in their relation to St. Mark, distinctly characterised sections. The second agrees relatively with St. Mark throughout, except that it omits the portions which have already occurred in a, whereas a itself differs considerably from the relative Marcan order. And yet even in this section the variations are only three in number 1. In the first place St. Matthew displaced the list of the Twelve (Mark iii. 14-19a) from just before the Sermon on the Mount to x. 2-4, inserting it just before the special address to the Twelve. This change of arrangement is easily explained. The new position is extremely suitable, whereas the list would have come in awkwardly after the description of the gathering together of the multitude (Matt. iv. 24, 25), intended evidently as an introduction to the Sermon which, according to St. Matthew, was mainly addressed to the collected crowds (see vii. 28, 29). The difference of the phrase with which the list is introduced in x. 2, 'now the names of the twelve apostles are these,' as compared with Mark iii. 14, 'and he ordained twelve,' shows that St. Matthew did not intend his readers to suppose that

¹ Matt. ix. 32-34 is not the real parallel to Mark iii. 22, and Matt. ix. 27-30 is not parallel to Mark viii. 22-26, but the true parallels to these are Matt. xii. 24, and in a certain sense Matt. xv. 30, 31 (see above, p. 63).

the Apostles were then first appointed. The second and third deviations from the Marcan order were made by taking out Mark i. 40-ii. 22, and placing the first part of it, the account of the leper, Mark i. 40-44, immediately after the Sermon on the Mount, as Matt. viii. 1-4, and the last part of it, Mark ii. 1-22, beginning with the account of the paralytic, immediately after the incident of the Gadarene demoniac, as ix. 1 b-17. Even here the order of the three incidents comprising Mark ii. 1-22 is preserved, and throughout a there is far more agreement than disagreement with the Marcan order. Whether these three displacements are due to the influence of some other evangelical fragment or tradition, or in some way to this double revision, if we may call it so, of Mark i. 29-vi. 11, must be more or less a matter of conjecture 1. But we have still to consider the general principle according to which this double revision was made. We cannot, as is often done, regard Matt. viii-xiii as simply a collection of miracles followed by a collection of our Lord's teachings, because a contains in ix. 9-17 two separate teachings, and another in ix. 35-x. 14, the Mission of the Twelve (which comparison with the Marcan order, Mark vi. 6 b-11, compels us to place in a), and β contains one miracle, Matt. xii. 9-14 || Mark iii. 1-6. The true explanation seems to be that St. Matthew in writing viii-x. 14 was influenced partly indeed by the desire to group the miracles together, but partly also by the order and contents of the Marcan tradition upon which his Gospel was based. Having on this principle made selections from the Marcan tradition up to and including the Mission of the Twelve, and added a new portion, x. 15-xi. 30, from other sources, he again revised this portion of St. Mark, introducing in its proper order almost everything which he had previously omitted2. The import-

¹ The presence of the doublets, Matt. ix. 32-34 (cf. Matt. xii. 22-24), and 35 (cf. Matt. iv. 23), give some ground to the first of these possibilities.

³ The final oroissions are: Mark i. 35-39 and 45, which of necessity dropped out through the rearrangement; Mark iv. 21-25, comprising short sayings which have their parallels in other parts of St. Matthew (viz. v. 14-16, x. 26, xi. 15, vii. 2, and xiii. 12); and Mark iv. 26-29 (the parable of the seed

ance of this modification of the theory of a collection of miracles followed by a collection of teachings, is the strong evidence it furnishes for the pre-existence of the Marcan order throughout. If the other view were absolutely correct, St. Matthew and St. Mark might have independently borrowed from two previous collections of miracles and teachings: It will have been seen that the argument hinges upon the position of the Mission to the Twelve, which is in its Marcan order if placed, as we have placed it, at the end of a, but out of its Marcan order if placed at the beginning of β , as the other view requires.

If we now apply the same test to St. Luke, we shall get results of a similar kind. We shall again find it convenient to divide the parts of the Gospel with which we are concerned into three sections, (a) iii. 2 b-ix. 50; (b) ix. 51-xviii. 14; (c) xviii. 15-xxiv. 9 a. In a St. Luke has, with one or two trifling exceptions, followed the relative order of the corresponding section of St. Mark. The exceptions are Luke vi. 17 b-19, which should, according to the position of the parallel Mark iii. 7-10, have followed the healing of the man with the withered hand, vi. 6-11, and viii. 19-21, which according to Mark iii. 31-35 should have come before viii. 4-18. The omissions from St. Mark in this section of St. Luke are very considerable. Besides three, to which parallels occur in the second section, and which may on that account have been omitted in this (viz. Mark iii. 22-27 || Luke xi. 15-22, Mark iii. 28-30 || Luke xii. 10, Mark iv. 30-32 || Luke xiii. 18, 19), we find the following omissions: (1) Mark i. 14 b-20; (2) iii. 9-12; (3) iii. 19 b-21; (4) iv. 1 a; (5) iv. 26-29; (6) iv. 33-34; (7) vi. 1-6; (8) vi. 17-29; (9) vi. 45-viii. 26; (10) viii. 32, 33; (11) ix. 11-13; (12) ix. 15, 16, 21-24, 26-29; (13) ix. 33 a. Of these, 3, 4, 6 and 13 are notes or notices which would all, except the last, naturally fall out by the rearrangement which occurs just in these places. This may also

growing secretly), for which is substituted the more striking parable of the tares in Matt. xiii. 24-30.

be the cause of the omission of 2 and 5 (the parable of the seed growing secretly). The omissions in 12 are, with the exception of ix. 28, minute descriptions of a kind specially characteristic of St. Mark's Gospel. 1 (the appointment of the first four Apostles) and 7 were probably considered too much like other incidents recorded in St. Luke (see v. 1-11, iv. 16-30)1 to admit of repetition. The same principle may ultimately account for the great omission of q. The omission of the feeding of the 4000, as being too much like that of the 5000, made it convenient (in a Gospel which was probably a selection from a large mass of material) to leave out what came between the two similar miracles, and necessitated the omission of Mark viii. 13-21, the point of which incident is the reference to the two miracles in vv. 19 and 20. The eleventh and twelfth verses were naturally omitted, as parallels occurred in section b (Luke xi. 16, 29). The stern rebuke of a great apostle in 10 was very possibly thought likely to give offence. Probably a similar cause contributed, in addition to that suggested above, to the omission of 3. The intention of seizing our Lord under the impression that he was suffering from religious mania, and that too by those who afterwards held, some of them, distinguished positions in the Church, was a subject which would have been obviously distasteful to the early Christian teachers. The two remaining omissions in this section of St. Luke, 8 and 11, are accounted for by Dr. Abbott 2, as originating from a desire to subordinate St. John the Baptist to our Lord; but part of the first had already been anticipated in iii. 19, 20, and the latter may probably have been omitted, as being of little importance to St. Luke's Gentile readers.

Between the first and second sections there are three omissions of what does not occur elsewhere in St. Luke, viz. of Mark ix. 41, 43-49, and x. 1-11. Of these the first

¹ Cp. especially iv. 22-24 with Mark vi. 3, 4. There are several omissions from apparently the same cause in section c, and they are much too frequent to be accounted for by coincidence.

³ Article 'Gospels' in Encyclopædia Britannics, 9th edition.

two are probably due to the rearrangement of this part of the Gospel, the third was probably made because the saying in x. 12, which forms the pith of that discourse, occurs among a collection of sayings in Luke xvi. 18.

In c the relative order of St. Mark is again practically preserved. The rather frequent, but for our present inquiry unimportant, transpositions which occur, especially in chapters xxii. and xxiii, have already been noticed. Marcan passages appear to have been omitted, because incidents like them are related elsewhere. This seems to be the principle of almost all the omissions in this section. Thus we find omitted the cursing of the fig-tree (Mark xi. 12-14, 19-21), presumably because of the parable of the fig-tree (Luke xiii. 6-9); the anointing of our Lord in the house of Simon the Leper (Mark xiv. 3-9), because of the anointing in the house of Simon the Pharisee (Luke vii. 36-50); and the mocking of our Lord before Pilate (Mark xv. 16-20 a), because of the mocking before Herod (Luke xxiii. 11). In Mark x. 41-45, xi. 22-24, xii. 28 b-34 a, xiii. 21-23, the parallelism with Luke xxii. 24-27, xvii. 6, x. 25-28, xvii. 21-23, is closer, and would obviously account for the omission of these passages in their Marcan context, but not close enough to warrant us in supposing that St. Luke obtained his parallels directly from the Marcan tradition. The omission of Mark x. 41-45 involved the omission of vv. 35-40, which supplied the motive of the discourse. Excepting Mark xiv. 51, 52 (for which see below, p. 91), the only other omissions from St. Mark in section c, longer than a single verse, are xii. 32-34 a, xiv. 33, 34, 38 b-42, 56-61 a, xv. 4-5, 34-36, which are probably due to the rearrangement of details (not of separate events), and the introduction of fresh matter which characterizes chapters axii. and xxiii. of St. Luke.

We have now to deal with the middle section b of St.

¹ There is a curious but indirect trace of the former in Luke xvii. 6; cf. Mark xi. 23, Matt. xxi. 21.

Luke. Now it is at once clear that this section cuts into the order of St. Mark, whereas the sections before and after are in their regular Marcan order. The whole section occupies the place of Mark ix. 41-x. 12, which is practically omitted by St. Luke, the only possible parallels being Mark ix. 42, cf. Luke xvii. 2, and Mark x. 11, 12, cf. Luke xvi. 18. When we consider how St. Luke in the other sections usually follows the Marcan order, this remarkable deviation creates an a priori probability that he derived this section from some other source or sources than the Marcan tradition. This probability is confirmed by two features which are very characteristic of this section of St. Luke, and absent or much less marked in the rest of that Gospel. (1) The frequency of doublets, i.e. of passages to which we find parallels in other parts of St. Luke, e.g. xii. 2, cf. viii. 17; xii. 9, cf. ix. 26; xii. 11, 12, cf. xxi. 12-15; xii. 40, cf. xxi. 34-36; xiv. 27, cf. ix. There are also at least two cases of doublets which have their parallels within this section itself, viz. xiii. 15, cf. xiv. 5, and xiv. 11, cf. xviii. 14 b. (2) The frequent occurrence of short passages, often single verses or less, and generally sayings of our Lord, in a totally different connexion from that in which they occur in the other Gospels. These are found especially in chapters xi. and xii.

This section of St. Luke does certainly contain several seeming parallels to St. Mark, but a closer examination makes it probable that they were not directly taken from the Marcan tradition. (1) This is clearly the case with those quasiparallels, such as the parable of the fig-tree, the anointing in the house of Simon the Pharisee 1, which are sufficiently like the similar incidents recorded in St. Mark, to cause the omission of the latter in their original sequence by St. Luke, but not like enough to have been derived from them. (2) Most of the seeming parallels are doublets in St. Luke, and the corresponding passages in that Gospel are evidently, from their position, the true parallels to St. Mark. Thus Luke xi. 33 is

¹ A complete list has been already given on p. 74.

a doublet of viii. 16 || Mark iv. 21, Luke xii. 2 of viii. 17 || Mark iv. 22, Luke xii. 9 of ix. 26 || Mark viii. 38, Luke xii. 11, 12 of xxi. 12-15 || Mark xiii. 9-11, Luke xii. 40 of xxi. 34-36 || Mark xiii. 33, Luke xiv. 27 of ix. 23 || Mark viii. 34. Less obvious doublets are Luke x. 1-17, cf. ix. 1-6 || Mark vi. 7-131; Luke xi. 53, 54, cf. xx. 20 || Mark xii. 13; Luke xvii. 20-37, cf. xxi. 5-36 || Mark xiii². (3) In other cases the parallelism with St. Mark is not close enough to warrant us in supposing that the passages were directly derived from the Marcan tradition, e.g. cf. Luke ix. 51 with Mark x. 32, Luke xi. 38-44 with Mark vii. 2-9, Luke xii. 1 with Mark viii. 15, Luke xii. 50 with Mark x. 38, Luke xiii. 22 a with Mark vi. 6 b. (4) Several passages, most of them short sayings of our Lord, though in language sometimes closer to St. Mark than to St. Matthew, yet agree with the latter and not St. Mark in context, and should be referred for their origin not to the Marcan tradition, but either to St. Matthew or the sources of St. Matthew. These are Luke xiii. 18, 19, cf. Mark iv. 30-32 and Matt. xiii. 31, 32; Luke xiv. 34, cf. Mark ix. 50a and Matt. v. 13a; Luke xvi. 18a, cf. Mark x. 11 and Matt. v. 32 a 3; Luke xvii. 2, cf. Mark ix. 42 and Matt. xviii. 6. Thus the verses following the first three and preceding the last of these Lucan passages - Luke xiii. 20, xiv. 35, xvi. 18 b, xvii. 14—are parallel to Matt. xiii. 33, v. 13 b, v. 32 b, xviii. 7, but have no parallels in St. Mark. (5) Two other sayings of our Lord, Luke xii. 10 (cf. Mark iii. 28, 29 and Matt. xii. 31, 32) and Luke xiii. 30 (cf. Mark x. 31 and Matt. xix. 30), have no contextual parallelism in either St. Matthew or St. Mark. But the first agrees much more closely in language with St. Matthew than St. Mark; and the second, though differing very much from both, agrees with

¹ See below, pp. 86, 87.
² See below, pp. 88-91.

⁸ It is a significant fact that Matt. xix. 9, which is the true contextual parallel to Mark x. 11, is, but for the qualifying addition εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ πορνεία, in almost verbal agreement with it, whereas Matt. v. 32 a differs considerably.

⁶ In Luke xvii. I, 2 there is a characteristic transposition of verses, but these are so common in this Gospel that it does not seriously affect the argument.

St. Matthew in the only point in which the latter differs from St. Mark, viz. the omission of oi before the second έσχατοι.

We have still to consider two important passages in section b, where the parallelism with St. Mark extends for several consecutive verses, St. Luke x. 25-27 and xi. 14-23. The first is the episode of the lawyer, and is to some extent parallel to Mark xii. 28-31 and Matt. xxii. 35-39. Here we may notice, (1) that the incident in St. Luke differs in almost every detail 1 from St. Mark, and was derived almost certainly from a different form of narrative; (2) that in all three Gospels we have two similar incidents recorded, or possibly two accounts of one incident. The first is contained in Matt. xix. 16-22, Mark x. 17-22, Luke xviii. 18-23. And here the three Gospels agree in context, and pretty closely in language and details. The other is Matt. xxii. 34-40, Mark xii. 28-34, cf. Luke x. 25-28. In this case St. Matthew and St. Mark agree in context, though with a serious difference of motive; St. Luke has no narrative of the kind in its Marcan order, and that under consideration has all the appearance of a combination of the two incidents 2, and in the parts parallel to Matt. xxii. and Mark xii, resembles St. Matthew much more closely than St. Mark. It is not, therefore, at all probable that St. Luke obtained it from the Marcan tradition. The discourse about Beelzebub, Luke xi. 14-23, which is parallel to Matt. xii. 22-32, Mark iii. 20 b-30, presents at first sight a serious difficulty; but even here there are good grounds for thinking that it was not directly derived from the Marcan tradition. (1) It has a certain contextual parallelism with St. Matthew, Matt. xii. 38-42 being parallel to Luke xi. 29-32, and Matt. xii. 43-45 to Luke xi. 24-263.

¹ Except the words 'thou shalt love,' etc., quoted from Deut. vi. 5, and even these are by St. Luke ascribed to the lawyer instead of our Lord, and the quotation resembles St. Matthew much more closely than St. Mark.

² The question of the lawyer in Luke x. 25 is word for word the same as that of the ruler in Luke xviii. 18 b, and our Lord's answer has the same general bearing. Such a combination is most naturally explained by the influence of oral tradition.

³ According to St. Matthew this should have followed xi. 29-32, but such

The Origin and Mutual Relation

78

(2) Contrary to what we usually find, the language of St. Luke throughout this incident is remarkably similar to that of St. Matthew 1, and differs very considerably from that of St. Mark. (3) We find traces in this chapter of St. Luke, and partially also in St. Matthew, of a portion of evangelical history differing very widely in detail, but having a general parallelism with the Marcan tradition, appearing therefore to be related to it, so to speak, but not derived from it. At any rate the reference to the Virgin Mother, and the lesson drawn from it in Luke xi. 27-28, bear some resemblance to the interruption of our Lord by His Mother and brethren, and a similar lesson drawn from that in Mark iii. 31-35. It is to be noticed that these quasi-parallels agree in position. Here St. Matthew agrees with St. Mark, the true parallel in St. Luke having been anticipated in viii. 19-21. It seems therefore probable that St. Luke derived his account of the Beelzebub discourse from a non-Marcan source, which partly influenced St. Matthew. The motive with which the discourse is introduced by St. Matthew (xii. 22) and St. Luke (xi. 14) was in all probability derived from the same source. The existence of other forms so beginning is confirmed by the abridged doublet in Matt. ix. 32-34.

Our investigations have now included all the passages in the middle section of St. Luke which have any parallel to St. Mark. It will have been seen that every one of them has also a parallel in St. Matthew, and that a closer one, especially in the matter of setting or context. We do not argue therefore that they were taken from St. Matthew, at least directly; but only that they were not taken from the Marcan tradition. The results of our inquiry then into the relation between St. Luke's Gospel and the Marcan tradition are briefly these: that sections a and c were evidently derived from that source, and that b almost certainly was not.

transpositions are so common in St. Luke that it cannot be considered a serious objection.

¹ Except in vv. 21, 22, where it is singularly unlike both St. Matthew and St. Mark, which are in this passage nearly agreed.

We now come to a far more difficult subject, the relation of St. Mark's Gospel itself, as we now have it, to the Marcan tradition. The difficulty of the problem is seen from the fact that those critics who agree in connecting the original Gospel with St. Mark, differ very widely in their view of the character and range of this original Gospel, or Ur-Marcus as it is frequently called. Some, as Dr. Abbott, would admit only a very small fraction of St. Mark as the original nucleus. Others, as Dr. Holtzmann, consider that the original Gospel was considerably larger than our present St. Mark 1. He would include in it the shorter form of the Sermon on the Mount, nearly as in St. Luke vi. 20-49, the healing of the centurion's servant, two of our Lord's appearances after the Resurrection, as in St. Matthew, and even the pericope adulterae. But our inquiry has already very much reduced these limits. Our principle has been to seek for the original source not merely in passages where the three agree, nor necessarily where two of them agree, but where there is also an agreement of order or context. This rests on the presumption, reasonable in itself, that the evangelists would probably keep to the order of what they were copying, unless for a purpose, and our examination has shown that they certainly generally did so. Dr. Abbott's view, which accepts as the original tradition only what is verbally common to all three, assumes, on the other hand, that each of the three would necessarily have incorporated the whole of the original tradition. We shall see that views like Dr. Holtzmann's are equally at variance with our principle in the opposite direction. We have already proved that the Marcan tradition, as far as matter and order are concerned, is very nearly identical with our St. Mark. We will now see whether, judging by comparative order, we find any evidence that St. Mark altered the form of the original tradition, whether by (1) transpositions, (2) omissions, or (3) additions, remembering that at present we are not concerned with the more minute details and phraseology, which are beyond the limits of this essay.

¹ Such are the views expressed in his earlier work. See, however, p. 94.

(1) That St. Mark did not make any serious transpositions has been indirectly shown at almost every stage of the previous inquiry. (2) We have next to ask whether he omitted anything from the Marcan tradition. (a) We cannot possibly prove that he omitted passages which are not contained in St. Matthew or St. Luke, such as the pericope adulterae. Indeed, the fact that this was probably found in the Gospel of the Hebrews, though perhaps in another form 1, seems to raise a positive presumption against it. (b) Nor can we prove that St. Mark omitted passages which are only supported by one of the other evangelists, such as the incident of the tribute money (Matt. xvii. 24 b-27), or that of Zacchaeus (Luke xix. 1-10). Our principle raises a positive argument against the originality of any such passage, where the Gospel which agrees with St. Mark in omitting it, agrees also in a parallel continuity of context; or where the Gospel which presumably inserts it agrees otherwise in context with St. Mark. Thus the parable of the two sons, Matt. xxi. 28-32, is on both these grounds proved to be an insertion. It breaks the continuity of the Marcan tradition, 23-27 being parallel to Mark xi. 27-33, and 33-42 being parallel to Mark xii. I-II; while on the other hand Mark xi. 27-xii. II is continuously parallel to Luke xx. 1-17. On the same principle a passage is proved to be an insertion, if it occurs in a context which has no agreement with the Marcan order. We must thus exclude from the Marcan tradition the parables of the prodigal son, &c., in Luke xv. 11-xvi, the context before and after having no parallel in St. Mark. This principle thus applied will be found on examination to exclude all the peculiar passages of St. Luke, and by far the most of St. Matthew. On the same grounds we must admit that Dr. Holtzmann's hypothesis 2 that the Ur-Marcus originally ended like St. Matthew, is at least not proven. But this case is quite exceptional. We cannot compare the end of St. Mark with St. Matthew, because it is almost certain that we have not got the end of St. Mark. In the first place, it is ex-

¹ See Euseb. Eccl. Hist. iii. 39.

tremely unlikely that the Gospel should have ended so abruptly with the words 'for they were afraid' (ἐφοβοῦντο $yd\rho$); in the second, it may be almost proved not to have so ended on our principle, for both St. Matthew and St. Luke continue the episode of the visit of the women to the tomb with their announcement of our Lord's Resurrection; or, to be perfectly accurate, it is implied in St. Matthew (xxviii. 8 b), definitely stated in St. Luke (xxiv. 9-11). And if so, how did the Marcan tradition end? In favour of Dr. Holtzmann's view, we have the fact that the language in the last episode of St. Mark (xvi. 1-8) agrees much more closely with St. Matthew than with St. Luke. On the other hand, it is remarkable that St. Luke should have omitted so much in a part of his Gospel which generally agrees with the Marcan tradition. It may be owing to that principle of selection, which clearly influenced his Gospel throughout, that he wished to give a few very remarkable appearances of our Lord, and preferred those which he actually gives. In want of further evidence we must leave the question undecided. (c) Even where a passage not contained in St. Mark is found in both St. Matthew and St. Luke, this will not of itself prove that it occurred in the Marcan tradition, unless it can be further shown that it stands in the two Gospels in a parallel sequence of narrative; but this parallel sequence must go backwards or forwards to a point where they both agreed with St. Mark. For example, it is argued by Dr. Holtzmann that the miracle of the centurion's servant was part of the Ur-Marcus, on the ground that both St. Matthew and St. Luke agree in placing it shortly after the Sermon on the Mount. This agreement, though by no means exact, would go some way to proving his point, if it could be proved that the Sermon itself was part of the Marcan tradition. Dr. Holtzmann argues that it was so in its shorter Lucan form², (a) from the great similarity of arrangement ¹ See p. 94.

² Excepting Luke vi. 38 a, 39, 40, 45, which do not occur in St. Matthew, at least in this connexion, but including 24-26. But see p. 94.

and language in the parts common to St. Matthew and St. Luke; (β) from the similarity of its setting in the two Gospels. They both relate the ascent to a mountain and the choosing of certain Apostles before the Sermon, and add soon after it the miracle of the centurion's servant.

But on the first head we may observe, that we still have to explain the very remarkable discrepancy between the two accounts in the first section of the discourse, and on the second that there are serious disagreements on each of the three points raised by Dr. Holtzmann. In St. Luke the Sermon is most explicitly separated from the ascent to the mountain in vi. 12; in St. Matthew the names of the twelve Apostles are omitted, and the appointment of the four Apostles is not directly connected with the Sermon, and the miracle of the centurion's servant is separated from the Sermon both by vii. 28 b, 29, and by the healing of the leper, viii. 1-4. These, taken together, are certainly greater discrepancies that we usually find between St. Matthew and St. Luke, where both correspond with St. Mark. But a careful examination of the contexts as compared with St. Mark, shows Dr. Holtzmann's view to be still more improbable, if not wholly untenable. In both St. Matthew and St. Luke the Sermon is prefaced by a description of the assembling of the multitude from different regions, Judaea, Jerusalem, &c., Matt. iv. 25 || Luke vi. 17 b. This occurs in St. Mark neither after i. 21, which would have agreed with its position in St. Matthew, nor after iii. 19 a, which would have agreed with that in St. Luke, but in iii. 8. In St. Mark the object of the gathering is the healing, which is described in vv. 10-12, just before the ascent to the moun-St. Matthew mentions the healing, but places it just before the gathering of the multitudes, and so connects the latter directly with the Sermon. St. Luke puts the healing after the gathering, as in St. Mark, but has, instead of the words 'when they heard what great things He did' (akovoutes όσα ἐποιεί), 'to hear Him' (ἀκοῦσαι αὐτοῦ). Neither mention

the actual or contemplated withdrawal from the crowd into a ship in Mark iii. 9. The most simple explanation of all this is that both St. Matthew and St. Luke, each in his own way, modified the account of St. Mark, in order to introduce the Sermon on the Mount. That St. Luke altered the original position of the gathering is placed almost beyond a doubt by the fact that its position in St. Mark is confirmed by the doublet Matt. xii. 15, which occurs in the consecutive parallel to this part of St. Mark. What Dr. Holtzmann's arguments do really go to prove is that the Sermon in St. Matthew and St. Luke does come from some common source, and that covering more ground than the Sermon itself; but that alone is no ground for assuming that it was taken from the *Ur-Marcus*.

We have now to consider a number of passages in which we do find a continuance of parallelism between St. Matthew and St. Luke beyond St. Mark, and which at first sight would seem therefore to be original elements of the Marcan tradition, omitted by that evangelist. Deferring for the present the consideration of those which occur in the missionary and eschatological discourses in Matt. x., xxiv. and xxv., the only remaining instances of any importance are (1) Matt. iii. 7–10, 12 || Luke iii. 7–9, 17; (2) Matt. iv. 3–10 || Luke iv. 3–12; (3) Matt. v. 13 b || Luke xiv. 35; (4) Matt. xii. 27, 28, 30, 38–42, 43–45 || Luke xi. 19, 20, 23, 29–32², 24–26²; (5) Matt. xiii. 33 || Luke xiii. 20, 21, and perhaps we should add (6) Matt. xviii. 7 || Luke xvii. 1².

Now it will be observed that in all except the first two of these passages, the Lucan parallel occurs in the middle section of that Gospel. That fact alone, if our former reasoning about that section is correct, makes it almost certain that

¹ The argument of Ewald, which Dr. Holtzmann repeats, that there appears to be a break in Mark iii. 19, proves nothing. There are many apparent breaks in St. Mark, as e. g. after ver. 12 of this very chapter, and they belong to an earlier question, the origin of the Marcan tradition itself.

² The characteristic transpositions in these passages have already been noticed. Thus Matt. xviii. 6, not 8, is parallel to Luke xvii. 2.

St. Luke did not derive them from the Marcan tradition, but from some other forms of the same incidents or discourses. It seems also likely that St. Matthew either derived or adapted them from the same source, while he continued to place them in the original position of similar passages in the Marcan tradition. We have already shown that this is probably the true account of the variations in 4, the Beelzebub discourse. It is obvious that he would have preferred a form of the discourse which contained a reference to the Jewish exorcists (xii. 27). St. Luke would, for the opposite reason, have preferred St. Mark's account. That he did not adopt it was probably because he found it in the other form in the sources from which he derived this section of the Gospel. In the case of 5 it is quite possible that St. Mark may have contented himself with the general statement in iv. 33, that our Lord 'spake with many such parables,' and omitted this particular parable. On the other hand, it is at least as likely that St. Matthew and St. Luke took it from some list of parables, in which the parable of the leaven, from the similarity of its teaching, naturally followed that of the mustard seed; or, for the same reason, the two parables may have been frequently associated in the oral teaching of the Church.

In 3 and 6 the differences between St. Matthew and St. Luke are greater than they usually are in passages where both have parallels in St. Mark. The resemblances are just enough to show that they have a common origin and no more. Besides, that the first occurs in St. Matthew in the inserted Sermon on the Mount is in itself all but a proof that it was not derived from the Marcan tradition. In the account of 2, the Temptation, the difficulties are so great that it seems almost impossible to offer anything but a conjectural solution of the problem. It is important to notice at the outset that the account in St. Mark has distinct features of its own, which mark it as an independent, and not an abridged version of the narrative. The mention of the wild animals and the

continued Temptation (mentioned but not emphasized by St. Luke, and omitted altogether by St. Matthew), in contrast to what appears to be the continued ministry 1 of angels, forms a graphic and striking picture, all the more vivid from its brevity. On the other hand, the three specific temptations, corresponding to the three-fold temptation of Eve (Gen. iii. 6; cf. 1 John ii. 16), the forty days' fast, like those of Moses and Elijah, the angelic ministry at the close of the final triumph over the Tempter, all of which we find in St. Matthew and the first two in St. Luke, are just the sort of features which would have been insisted upon when our Lord's Temptation became the ground of homiletic discourse. mention of the wild animals might easily have fallen out, as the preachers preferred to dwell on the spiritual rather than the natural horrors of the scene. On the other hand, it is very difficult to account for the omission by St. Mark of the details supplied by the other Synoptists, especially the fasting, if he had found them in the original source. The retention of the imperfect διηκόνουν by St. Matthew with a slightly different force, and perhaps a different meaning², is certainly very remarkable, and is a good illustration of the conservative spirit with which he usually treated the Marcan tradition.

In 1, the account of St. John the Baptist, the continual parallelisms in St. Matthew and St. Luke are certainly very remarkable; and it is difficult to see any other solution, except that St. Mark has omitted these verses from the Marcan tradition. The case is unlike all the others in these respects:

(a) The language of St. Matthew and St. Luke in these verses is remarkably close, and the few differences look like characteristic alterations of St. Luke. (b) The context of all the evangelists, both before and after, agrees, except for the peculiar passages introduced by St. Luke, iii. 10-14, and 18-

¹ Dr. Westcott (Study of the Gospels, ch. vi. § iii) notices the force of the imperfect διηκόνουν in Mark i. 13.

³ In St. Matthew the word seems to refer, as generally in the New Testament, to ministering to our Lord's bodily wants. In St. Mark, where there is no mention of the fast, it seems to have a more spiritual meaning.

20. (c) Except for the passages which are under discussion, and the words καὶ πυρί, just before Matt. iii. 12, and evidently connected with it, there are in the whole account of the Baptist very few expressions 1 common to St. Matthew and St. Luke against St. Mark. It is not likely therefore that the agreement of St. Matthew and St. Luke in the verses omitted by St. Mark is to be explained by the influence of an independent source. There seems then a strong probability that here at least our St. Mark has omitted some verses from the original source, possibly as being not suited to his Gentile readers.

We have still to consider two examples of continued parallelism in St. Matthew and St. Luke against St. Mark of a somewhat different kind, viz. those in the missionary and eschatological discourses, such as Matt. x. 12, 13 || Luke x. 5, 6, and Matt. xxiv. 27 || Luke xvii. 24. These two discourses, or pairs of discourses, present remarkably similar features, and the explanation in one case is pretty likely to be in principle the explanation of the other. (1) We have at least two of each of these discourses in St. Luke, only one of each in both St. Matthew and St. Mark. (2) In both cases St. Matthew, in his form of the discourse, includes a considerable quantity of matter which is not in St. Mark, but is found in those forms in St. Luke's Gospel which do not in point of order and general contents form the true parallels to St. Matthew and St. Mark.

The missionary discourses are in Matt. x., Mark vi. 7-11, Luke (a) ix. 1-5, (β) x. 1-16. Here we find that St. Matthew's account, as far as ver. 16 inclusive, differs from St. Mark by the insertion of 2-4, 5 b-6, 7-8, 10 b, 12-13, 15²-16. Of these passages the first (the list of the Twelve) has been already discussed ³, the second (the direction to go to Jews only) is obviously an insertion, exactly suited to the character

¹ The only one of the slightest importance is ἡνεψχθησαν (Matt.), ἀνεψχθῆναι (Luke), for the very singular expression σχιζομένους in Mark i. 10.

² The corresponding Mark xi. b is omitted by the test authorities.

³ Page 70.

of St. Matthew's Gospel; the third has concise parallels in St. Luke a and β (cf. Luke ix. 2, x. 9), and to a certain extent also in Mark vi. 12, 13. The three last again have parallels in Luke β (cf. Luke x. 7 b, 5-6, 12-13). After ver. 16 St. Matthew has a number of sayings of our Lord, nearly all of which occur elsewhere, and by far the majority of them in the middle section of St. Luke's Gospel. The last verse but two (40) corresponds again to the last verse of St. Luke β (x. 16). St. Luke a agrees very nearly with St. Mark, but omits the injunctions to go two and two and to be shod with sandals in Mark vi. 7-9. In St. Luke β we find, besides most of what is parallel to St. Mark, and still more closely to Luke a (though carefully expanded and somewhat rearranged), the introduction of considerable additional matter, which, taken by itself, forms a sufficiently clear and connected account, bearing a general similarity to the other. We find the parallel to St. Mark mostly in vv. 4, 5a, 7-11, the supplementary account mostly in vv. 1-3, 5 b, 6, 12, and 16 1. In the first, 7 b c-8 may fairly be regarded as a substitute for μήτε ἄρτον omitted in 4, as also by St. Matthew (see below). Again, Luke x. 9 may be simply a paraphrase of Luke ix. 1, 2, which is found in Matt. x. 7, 8, and in Mark vi. 12, 13 is given not as a charge, but as a statement of fact.

The following appears to be the most probable explanation of this complicated problem. There seem to have been originally two independent short accounts, the one describing the Mission of the Twelve, the other the Mission of the Seventy. The first of these is preserved, in its original form in St. Mark and St. Luke a, and underlies St. Luke b. The first and second are found combined in St. Luke b, whereas St. Matthew appears to be a combination of St. Mark b St. Luke b With the already composite account of St. Luke b Otherwise it is difficult to account for the insertions in Matt. b whereas their which we find parallels only in St. Luke b; whereas their

^{1 13-15 (}if not 12-15) either belongs to this supplementary account or is a further insertion. Cf. Matt. xi. 21-23 (or 21-24).

appearance in St. Luke β is quite intelligible, on the supposition that that is a combined account, of which one element no longer exists separately. Of course it does not follow that St. Matthew borrowed directly from St. Luke β in the form which we now find it in that Gospel, but more probably it was from an earlier combined account, from which St. Luke himself took it. The discourses are just such as would have been constantly repeated, and their close resemblance would have made them specially liable to mixture.

That St. Matthew's account and St. Luke β are partially derived from the same source is further confirmed by the fact that immediately before the discourse St. Matthew inserted ix. 37, 38, parallel to Luke x. 2; and in the chapter following this discourse has inserted a long parallel to what in St. Luke immediately follows it, Matt. xi. 20–27 || Luke x. 13–15, 21, 22. Probably in the original source of Luke β this discourse, or rather collection of sayings, followed directly, as in St. Luke. Curiously enough, while St. Luke has retained what is presumably the original order, he has made the last part of these sayings refer to a different occasion by introducing the return of the Seventy, &c., in vv. 17–20.

The explanation just given of the history and mutual relation of the missionary discourses may not be correct in all its details; but enough has been shown to establish, I think, beyond reasonable doubt at least this, that we have in St. Mark the original account of the Mission of the Twelve as contained in the Marcan tradition, and that what is common to St. Matthew and St. Luke beyond that, comes from some other independent source.

The sections containing the chief eschatological discourse are, Matt. xxiv., xxv. || Mark xiii. || Luke (a) xxi. 5-36; and there are two others apparently in Luke (β) xvii. 20-37, (γ) xii. 35-48. We will first examine the earlier part of

¹ St. Luke β has quite the characteristic grace and flow of St. Luke's style. And the omission of the directions (alluded to above) in Mark vi. 7, 9 a, in St. Luke α , probably because they occurred in β , seems to show that the combination itself in the latter was not originally St. Luke's work.

this discourse contained in Matt. xxiv. 1-36 [37-41] || Mark xiii. 1-32 || Luke xxi. 5-35. What strikes us most in this part of St. Luke a, is the way in which the language of St. Mark is modified or explained so as to refer more explicitly to the taking of Jerusalem. Compare especially Mark xiii. 14 with Luke xxi. 20, Mark xiii. 19, 20 with Luke xxi. 23 b, 24. Such modifications probably arose from the natural but unconscious tendency to substitute the current explanation for the obscure words of Christ. The same cause probably accounts both for the alteration of Mark xiii. 15 (cf. Luke xxi. 21 b), and the omission of Mark xiii. 21-22. But the fact that a parallel to the first, and part of the second, of these passages occurred in St. Luke β (xvii. 31 and 23) made this treatment of them in St. Luke a more natural.

In the corresponding part of St. Matthew's discourse we have to notice, in the first place, three insertions of matter peculiar in a certain sense to St. Matthew¹, viz. xxiv. 11-12, 30 a, b, and μετὰ σάλπιγγος φωνής μεγάλης in ver. 31. The first of these occurs in a passage (9-14) which is a free paraphrase of Mark xiii. 9-13, all the more remarkable because the language of St. Matthew in the early part of the discourse usually follows St. Mark very closely. But a much closer parallel to this Marcan passage had already been inserted by St. Matthew in the missionary discourse (x. 17-22). St. Matthew has besides two insertions, vv. 27 and 28, which correspond more or less closely with St. Luke xvii. 24 and 37. After 36 he makes a still more important insertion, vv. 37-41, agreeing with Luke xvii. 26-30, 34, 35. It is clear, therefore, that St. Luke β will account both for the more important insertions of St. Matthew, and, to a certain extent, for the omissions of St. Luke. St. Matthew has incorporated into his narrative matter derived from an eschatological dis-

¹ xxiv. 11 is a doublet of ver. 24, and 30 a, b of 30 c, influenced by 3 b. The relation of the first and last of these insertions to 2 Thess. ii. 3-12 | 1 Thess. iv. 16, 1 Cor. xv. 52, is too large a question to be discussed here. All that need be said is that the resemblance of language is not close enough to prove the prior existence of St. Matthew's.discourse.

course, of which we find part at least in St. Luke β ; and St. Luke did not wish in a to repeat passages, or forms of passages, less suited to this than to β .

St. Luke β has, besides these parallels with St. Matthew and a few peculiar expressions, two verses, xvii. 25, 33, which have doublets occurring together in Luke ix. 22, 24, where in language and context they are closely parallel to Matt. xvi. 21, 25 and Mark viii. 31, 35. But St. Luke's language in xvii. 25, 33 differs considerably, and is clearly not derived from the same source. It is thus evident that St. Luke β has a composite character, and is quite independent of the Marcan tradition. We have every reason, therefore, for thinking that so far the Marcan tradition has been preserved by St. Mark. After Mark xiii. 32 the parallelism becomes very curious and instructive. St. Mark has in xiii. 33-37 a triple injunction to watchfulness, άγρυπνεῖτε (ver. 33), γρηγορεῖτε (ver. 35), and γρηγορείτε (ver. 37), in connexion with a single short parable or trope illustrating the duty. St. Matthew has in the place of this three parables, the faithful servant, the ten virgins, and the talents (xxiv. 42-xxv. 30), which, taken together, bear out every phrase of St. Mark. The first two definitely teach the necessity of watchfulness, the injunctions to this duty being repeated almost in St. Mark's language (Matt. xxiv. 42, 43, xxv. 13); the third, after beginning very much in the language of St. Mark's parable, goes on to introduce a distinctly different lesson, but yet one suggested by the Marcan phrase, ἐκάστω τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ (Mark xiii. 34). St. Mark that phrase seems to refer to the division of the household duties among the servants, which they were expected to be found faithfully carrying out when their lord returned; whereas the main thought of the parable of the talents is the duty of making the best use of God's gifts. Now all these three parables of St. Matthew have parallels in St. Luke in quite other connexions, and differing considerably in form, cf. Matt. xxiv. 42-51 with Luke xii. 38-46, Matt. xxv. 1-3 with Luke xii. 35-37, Matt. xxv. 14-30 with Luke xix. 12-27. St. Luke ends the eschatological discourse a in xxi. 36 with a parallel to Mark xiii. 331. But Luke y not only, as we have seen, contains parallels to the two first parables of St. Matthew, but has in some points a striking resemblance to Mark xiii. 35 (cf. especially Luke xii. 38), yet not more than might reasonably be expected in two forms of an original discourse preserved orally. The most probable explanation of all this again seems to be, that St. Matthew has incorporated into his discourse elements derived from other sources preserved independently of the Marcan tradition. St. Luke, on the other hand, seems in a to have omitted parts of the Marcan tradition, from an unwillingness to repeat what he had already said in other forms elsewhere. It may here again be observed that the great difference between the forms of the extra-Marcan parallels in St. Matthew and St. Luke is a strong proof in itself that they did not. derive them from the Marcan tradition.

We have already given reasons for thinking that St. Mark did not transpose the original order of the Marcan tradition, and also that he did not make any serious omissions, except probably in the account of St. John the Baptist. It now remains, lastly, to consider whether he added anything to this original source. Now the portions of St. Mark's Gospel without parallels in either St. Matthew or St. Luke are singularly few, and most of them no larger than a single verse, and frequently much less. They belong generally to what may be called characteristic details, and are therefore beyond the limits of our present inquiry. The most important of them is the incident of the man with the linen cloth in Mark xiv. 51, 52.

Putting such passages on one side, we will examine all others that are peculiar to St. Mark in their order. Mark i. I proves nothing. If the original Gospel did not begin here, some sort of heading must have been added; if it did,

¹ Or it would perhaps be more correct to regard Luke xxi. 34-36 as a very free and concise paraphrase of Mark xiii. 32-37.

St. Matthew and St. Luke must equally have omitted it. seems hardly possible to explain the prophecy in Mark i. 2 b as an insertion into the Marcan tradition, unless it be a very early marginal gloss which has crept into the text of St. Mark, but such conjectures are extremely hazardous. On the other hand, if it existed in the Marcan tradition, the necessary rearrangement of the opening verses, and the fact that the prophecy is not from Isaiah but Malachi, would quite account for its omission by St. Matthew and St. Luke. If what was said above 1 about the Sermon on the Mount is correct, the omission of Mark iii. 9 by St. Matthew and St. Luke was almost necessitated by the rearrangement of the context. Again, they very naturally omitted iii. 20, 21 when they supplied the motive of the discourse about Beelzebub from another source 2. And besides, the passage might, as already suggested 3, have been the cause of offence; or, at any rate, it might seem awkwardly divided by the discourse from Mark iii. 31. The omission of iv. 26-29 (the parable of the seed growing secretly) by St. Matthew is probably to be explained, as already suggested, by the substitution of the somewhat similar, but more striking parable of the tares, for which an opportunity was given by Mark iv. 33. Mark vii. 2-4 is partly a motive for the following discourse, partly an explanation of the Jewish custom of ceremonial washings before eating. The latter might with equal probability have been added for Gentile readers, or omitted as unnecessary for Jewish readers. But the further omission by St. Matthew of the motive, seems to show that he made the whole omission to connect the hostile attack of the Scribes and Pharisees more closely with their mission from headquarters. Mark vii. 32-37 (the deaf and dumb man of Decapolis) is, as the context before and after shows, really parallel to Matt. xv. 30, 31, and this general statement of St. Matthew may very probably be an abridgement of this miracle and that of the blind man of Bethsaida in Mark viii. 22-26,

which is also omitted by St. Matthew. This last omission may be partly also accounted for by the fact that he had already related a somewhat similar miracle in ix. 27-31.

The originality of Mark ix. 48, 49, 50 b and xi. 25 (26 is certainly spurious) may be open to question. These verses have the appearance of being detached sayings of our Lord pieced together from a general resemblance of subject, rather than parts of a connected discussion. For example, xi. 25 gives us another duty connected with prayer which has no direct connexion with the incident of the fig-tree. But this very fact may be the cause of its omission by St. Matthew, especially as in vi. 14, 15 he had already taken a very similar saying from an independent source. Mark xii. 32-34 a may have been omitted by St. Matthew, because the words of the lawyer, and what immediately followed, were partly in a certain sense a repetition of our Lord's own language, and therefore thought unnecessary, and partly a merely personal incident. Neither had any direct bearing on the theological force of our Lord's teaching, which seemed designed to show the fulfilment of the law in Christianity. The difference of the motive of the lawyer's question in St. Matthew (xxii. 35) and of our Lord's relation to the lawyer, are explicable enough if we regard Luke x. 25-28 as a modification of an independent account of this, or of a similar incident 1. St. Matthew may, while he retained the Marcan order, have modified his account in the direction of this other, with the view of making it harmonise better with the context, which describes certain attacks made by different parties against our Lord. Indeed, Mark xii. 13 || Matt. xxii. 15 seemed to require that a special attack by the Pharisaic party should be narrated 2. It has already been observed that there are singular points of verbal coincidence between St. Matthew and St. Luke. The difficulties in supposing that St. Mark modified his account from

¹ See above, p. 77.

⁹ It is worth noticing that St. Matthew in vv. 34, 35 specially mentions the fact, not stated by St. Luke, that the lawyer was a Pharisec.

St. Matthew's are far more serious. It should be noticed that three of the passages which we have been discussing occur in the large section of the Marcan tradition, Mark vi. 45-viii. 26 omitted consecutively by St. Luke, and where we have consequently only the evidence of St. Matthew to go upon. Had St. Luke contained this section at all, we have no necessary grounds for supposing that he would have omitted them.

We may sum up the results of our examination of St. Mark's Gospel thus. There are a few unimportant passages where it is not unlikely, and yet by no means certain, that St. Mark modified the earlier tradition; one only where it is almost certain that he did so, viz. in the omission of Matt. iii. 7-10, 12; and there are some grounds for thinking that the Marcan tradition (or perhaps we should say St. Mark) originally contained what corresponded to Matt. xxviii. 9, 10, 16-20. We conclude, therefore, that the common tradition upon which all the three Synoptics were based is substantially our St. Mark as far as matter, general form, and order are concerned. Whether we can go further, and say that in point of language and the more minute details it is generally identical, is a further question which we have not attempted to settle. This may seem to carry us a very small way; but if critics could come to an agreement even upon this one point, it would at least be a definite step towards the solution of what is, from any point of view, one of the most intricate and interesting of literary problems.

Unfortunately it was not till after this essay was in the press that I had an opportunity of seeing Dr. Holtzmann's new work Die Synoptiker, Freiburg, 1889. It is gratifying to find that he has given up I believe all the opinions which I have ventured to criticise, especially that fundamental theory of an Ur-Marcus larger than our Synoptical Gospel. He now holds that St. Mark itself was the main source of both St. Matthew and St. Luke. In fact the argument on which he lays the greatest stress is just what it has been my

chief object to point out, the continuity of the Marcan order traceable in these two Gospels.

Although this work thus gives important additional support to my arguments, it would have required too much shifting of type to have made the necessary corrections; and I have felt obliged to leave the references to his earlier work as they stand.

Although I have not attempted to discuss the originality of St. Mark's Gospel as far as language is concerned, I may be permitted, perhaps, to add the following remarks. (1) It is certainly a priori probable, though not a necessary consequence, that if the common basis of the Synoptics can be found to have coincided in range and order almost exactly with our St. Mark, it did so also in language. (2) It is in itself far more probable that the graphic details of St. Mark, many of them of no importance from a religious or doctrinal point of view, should have fallen out in the more claborate works of later evangelistic compilers, than that they should have been added by a later writer by way of embellishment, specially by one like St. Mark, who gives us little or no evidence of literary skill. (3) The differences of language between St. Matthew and St. Mark can to a very large extent be explained either by the rearrangement made in certain parts by St. Matthew, or by his desire to correct the crudities of his original. Yet we find in these respects a distinct conservative tendency. (4) In St. Luke, so remarkable for his literary skill, we naturally find alterations from both these causes more frequent: but still there is abundant evidence of the direct influence of St. Mark's language. certain pretty definitely marked passages, such as the discourse about Beelzebub (see p. 78), his language resembles St. Mark more closely than St. Matthew, and but few remarkable expressions agree with St. Matthew against St. Mark.

EXPLANATION OF SYNOPTIC TABLE.

The object of this Table is to show at a glance the relation in which St. Mark stands to the two other synoptical Gospels, and they to each other. The divisions of St. Mark are not made as a rule with any regard for the natural divisions of subject-matter; but simply so as to indicate how much of the Marcan tradition was continuously made use of by either St. Matthew or St. Luke, or by both, or by neither. Hence it has frequently been necessary to break into a paragraph or even a verse. For example, Mark ix. 33 a is separated from 33 b, because the first part of the verse, 'And he came to Capernaum,' has no parallel in St. Luke, and in St. Matthew it is separated from the second by the inserted episode of the didrachma. The relations between St. Matthew and St. Luke are less obviously shown; but that is mainly because there are so few traces of connexion except through St. Mark.

Close dotted lines mean that a Gospel contains no certain parallel to a given passage. Square brackets [...] show that the passage included in them is peculiar to a particular Gospel. In order to avoid the unnecessary and confusing multiplication of lines, it has often been found convenient to use these brackets in the middle of parallel sections, to show that though such sections are clearly parallel as a whole, yet one or more evangelists have smaller peculiar passages within them. In such cases all but the verses actually bracketed off must be considered as parallel. Thus in putting Mark iii. 7-[9]-11 a[11 b] as parallel to Luke vi. [17 a] 17 b-19 it is meant that Mark iii. 7, 8, 10, 11 a is parallel to Luke vi. 17 b-19, and that Mark iii. 9, 11 b, Luke vi. 17 a have nothing to correspond to them in the other Gospels. Occasionally I have included in square brackets passages which are parallel or quasi-parallel in two Gospels, as Matt. iii. 7-10, 12 || Luke iii. 7-9, 17; Matt. xv. 30, 31 || Mark vii. 32-37: but the reasons are generally pretty obvious. Round brackets (...) are used where verses or small passages occur very nearly, but not exactly, in their Marcan order, and have the appearance of having been intentionally transposed. These are almost confined to St. Luke.

The passages placed in the right-hand column for comparison with sections in the Gospel columns are very variously characterised. Some are mere independent treatments of the same or similar subjects, as the genealogy in Matt. i. 1-16 compared with that in Luke iii. 23-38, and the call (apparently) of St. Peter in Luke v. 1-11 compared with the call of the four in Mark i. 16-20. Others are partial parallels with considerable difference of treatment, as Luke iv. 22, 24 compared with Mark vi. 1-6 a, Many are doublets of passages, which from their agreement with the Marcan order are placed in the Gospel columns. Thus Matt. xii. 24-26 is placed as parallel to Mark iii. 22-26, and the doublet Matt. ix. 32-34 is placed in the right-hand column. with Luke ix. 51-xviii. 14, I have admitted into the Lucan column only such passages as show traces of a continuous parallelism with St. Matthew, viz. Luke xi. 14-23 || Matt. xii. 22–30, xi. 24–32 || Matt. xii. 38–45, xiii. 18–21 || Matt. xiii. 31–33, xvii. 1, 2 || Matt. xviii. 6, 7 (see pp. 77, 78, 83, 84).

Some attempt has been made to make clearer the double revision, as I have ventured to call it, of St. Mark in Matt. viii.—xiii., by placing the chapter-figures of passages belonging to the second selection a little to the left and leaving the rest in their natural position.

The chief differences between this Table and Mr. Rushbrooke's Synopticon are that I have added Matt. iv. 13 a as || Mark i. 21 a, and Matt. iv. 23 b as || Mark i. 21 b (thus showing that Matt. iv. 28 b-29 is a true contextual parallel to Mark i. 22), Matt. ix. 1 a as indubitably || Mark v. 18 a-21, and Luke xii. 11-12, as an additional parallel to Mark xiii. 11, 12; Luke xxiii. 3, 2 (not 4, 10) as || Mark xv. 2, 3. It will be seen that they arise mainly out of the stress laid on parallelism of context as distinct from mere resemblance.

SYNOPTIC TABLE,

SHOWING THE RELATION BETWEEN ST. MARK AND THE TWO OTHER STNOPTICAL GOSPELS.

REMARKS.	111. 2b-[5, 6]-[7-9]-[10- 1 parallels in Matthew and Luke. 2 With 14]-[17]-[18-20] ² -22 iii. 19, 20 cf. Mark vi. 17, Matt. xiv. 3
ST. LUKE.	111. 2b-[5, 6]-[7-9]'-[10- 14]-[17]'-[18-20]'-22
ST. MABK.	1, 2-11
. Matthew.	7-10]¹-[12]¹-[14,]-17

			98					
REMARES.	iii. 2b-[5, 6]-[7-9] ¹ -[10-1 parallels in Matthew and Luke. 3 With Luke 14]-[17] ¹ -[18-20] ² -22 iii. 19, 20 cf. Mark vi. 17, Matt. xiv. 3.	1-[3-12] - 14 h of. Matt. iv. 23, 24; ix. 26; xiii. 54; Mark vi. 2.	[16-30] of. Matt. xiii. 53-58; Mark vi. 1-6.	cf. Luke vi. 12-49; Mark iii. 7-9.	with Mark i. 39 cf. Matt. iv. 23 cf. Matt. iv. 18-23 : Mark i. 16-20.	cf. Luke vii. 1–10.	17-38 [30] Matt. omits Mark ii. 4, Luke v. 19. 71. 1 10 [11] of. Matt. iv. 25, 24 b.	of. Matt. v. 1.
Sr. Luke.	iii, 2b-[5, 6]-[7-9] ¹ -[10- 14]-[17] ¹ -[18-20] ² -22 [23-38] ³	[14 b, 15]	[16-30]		33-37 38-41 43-44 1-11	13-14	vt. 1-7-38 [30] [17-38 [30]	12, 13 & cf. Matt. v. I.
ST. MABK.	₩.	14 h 15	16-20	21 b	33-20	40-44	11. 1-22 23-iii. 6 111. 7-[9]-11a [11b]	1 m
Sr. Matthew.	H, 1-[7-10] ¹ -[12] ¹ -[14, 15]-17	[13 b-16].	18-22	[23 a] 23 b	viii. 14-16 [17]	viii. 1–4 · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	ix. 1b-17	16 [17-21]

			9	9		
of Matt. iz. 32-34.		of. Matt. viii. 5-13. of. Matt. xxvi. 6-13; Mark xiv. 3-9. transposed. of also Inke vi. 27, 28	of. Mark iv. 25. T of. Luke x. 23, 24. * 806 Matt. ix. 35 a and references. of. Matt. v. 14-16; x. 26; xi. 15; vii. 2; Luke xi. 33;	All. 2 ; Vl. 30. cf. Matt. xili. 12, possibly parallel.	possibly parallel. of. Luke ix. 57-62. Matt. omits Mark v. 3-5, 8-10, 18 b-20. Matt. omits Mark v. 29-33, and most of 41 b-43. 11 of. Luke iv. 14 b.	44 44 64 64
13 b-16 xd, 14 · · · · · · }	19, 20	11-17] [36-50] *		xtii. 18, 19	VIII. 22-25	
14-19 & [19 b-21] · ·	28, 29 [30]	11-25	iv. it. it. it. it. it. it. it. it. it. it	25 ·	531.54 ** [34.6]	vi. 1-6a
x11. 23,23	27, 28	38-42	xIII. 1 -[12] -[14-15a]-[16 -17] -23	[24-30] 31-32 33	34 [35] 34 [35] • 111. 18—[19-22] • 27 28—1x. 1A 1x. 18—25 ** [26]**	[37-31]

	_			1	00				
REMARES.	¹ cf. Luke x. 9; 7; 5b, 6; 12. ² cf. Luke x. 4, 5a, 7, 8-11.	³ cf. Luke x. 3. *Mostly in other Gospels. With Matt. x. 40 cf. Luke x. 16.	cf. Matt. z. 7, 8; Luke ix. 2; x. 9.	of. Luke iii. 19, 20. 7 of. Matt. ix. 36.	of. Luke xi. 38-44-	 doubtful parallels. cf. Matt. xii. 38, 39; Luke xi. 16, 29. cf. Luke xii. 16, 29. 	of. Luke xii. 1 b. of. Matt. ix. 27-30; xv. 30, 31.	with Mark viii. 34 of. Luke xiv. 27, and with Mark viii, 38 of. Luke xii. 9.	with Mark ix. 23 cf. Luke x.
Sr. Luke.	ix. 1-5 ²		6.	8, 9 a 9 b]			18-22	23-[31, 32]-37 a	37 b-42 [43 s.]
Sr. Mark.	vi. 7-113		12, 13	15, 16	45-[52]-[56a] 56b . vti. 1-[2-4]-23 24 a[24 b]-[30]-31	\[\left[\frac{13a-37}{2} \right] \] \[\text{vilit } \text{I-10} \] \[\text{II-14} \cdot \c	15	34-ix. 9 [10]	14-[15, 16]-[21]-[22b
Sr. MAPTHEW.	x. 1,5a[5b-6]-[7,8]- [10b] ¹ -[12, 13] ¹ -	[\$16-42]* [xi. 1- 19] ⁵ [20-27]*	[28-30] xiv. 1, 2	3-12 &	xv. 1-[12-14]-20	[30, 31]	7-12	24-[xvii.6a]6b[7]- xvii. 9 xvii 10-12	

[20] [20] [20] [20] [20] [20] [20] [20]	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	:::		doubtful parallels. With Matt. of. Luke xvil. 6.
39, 31	30, 31		43 b, 44 · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	(Marks, XVII. 21 In Spurious.)
24 b-27]11	33 b-37 · · · ·		46-48 18	11 one phrase in 25 is parallel to Mark ir. 33 a. 19 of, Matt. x. 40. 13 of. Luke xxii. 26.
•	38-40		49–50 14 [ix. 51–62, x. 23–xi. 23, ti. 33–xii. 37, xiii. 22–xii. 21, xwii. 2–xwiii.	" of Luke xi. 23. there are throughout a few parallels to St. Matthew.
			(x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x	cf. Matt. x. 42. ¹³ transposed.
8,9 43-47 [48, 49]	43-47 [48, 49] [50m]		XVII. 1	of. Matt. v. 13; Luke ziv. 34.
[50 b] · · · · ·				cf. Luke xix. 10; xv. 4-7; xvii. 3, 4.
		MA A	xviii. 15, 16	of. Luke xvi. 18; Matt. v. 31, 32. of. Matt. xvii. 2. of. Matt. xviii. 3 [4].
16			18–30	و الله علام الله
10-15 32-34	32-34		31 16-33 [34].	On the American Solutions. 16 of Luke was solutions. with Mark was sof Tarka will so
42-45 · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·			35-43	35-43
TTY			[0][11-10]	. ci. mate. xxv. 14-30.

/

				1	00			
REMARKS.	ix. 1-5 ²	 cf. Luke x. 3. "Mostly in other Gospels. With Matt. x. 40 cf. Luke x. 16. cf. Luke vii. 18-[29, 30]-35; xvi. 16. cf. Luke x. 13-[16-20]-22. 	cf. Matt. x. 7, 8; Luke ix. 2; x. 9.	cf. Luke iii. 19, 20. 7 cf. Matt. ix. 36.	of, Luke xi. 38-44. * doubtful parallels. of. also Matt. ix. 32, 33.	cf. Matt. xii. 38, 39; Luke xi. 16, 29. ° cf. Luke xii 54-56. cf. Luke xii. 1 b.	of. Matt. ix. 27-30; xv. 30, 31.	with Mark viii, 34 cf. Luke xiv. 27, and with Mark viii, 38 cf. Luke xii. 9. with Mark ix. 23 cf. Luke x.
Sr. Luke.	ix. 1-5 ² · · · · ·			8, 9 & 9 b]			18-22	23-[31, 32]-37 a 37 b-42 [43 a]
Sr. Mabe.	vi. 7-113		12, 13	15, 10 17-[20 b]-[23]-29. 30-34.	45-[52]-[503]50 D vii. 1-[2-4]-23 24 a[24 b]-[30]-31 [32-37]*		[10-21] [22-26] 27-31 23-23	14-1x. 9 [10]
Sr. Matthew.	x. 1, $5a[5b-6]-[7,8]^{1}-[10b]^{1}-[12,13]^{1}$	[216-42] * [xi. 1- 19] * [20-27] * .	[18-30] xiv. 1, 2	3-12 &	33]-30		7-12 13-21	24-[xvii.6a]6b[7]- xvii. 9

٠		[36 b, 27]	,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	
	19	28.	•••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••	
	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	[67]	••••••••••••••••	(Matt. xvii. 21 is spurious.)
	22, 23	30, 31	43 b, 44 · · · ·	
•			45	
	[24 h_27]11			Il and the said of the same of the same and the same of the same o
xviii.	xviii. I-[3, 4]-5 ¹³	33 b-37	187-97	13 of. Matt. x. 40. 13 of. Luke xxii. 26.
•		38-40	49-50 14	14 of. Luke xi. 23.
,			(ix. 51-62, x. 23-xi. 23,	there are throughout a few parallels to St.
			xi. 33-xiii.17, xiii. 22-	Matthew.
			xvi. 31, xvii. 3-xviii.	
			[4]	1
-		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	cf. Matt. x. 42.	of. Matt. x. 42.
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	+2 · · · · · · ·	(xvii. 2) ¹⁵	15 transposed.
			xvii. 1	
	8,9	43-47 [48, 49]	•	
•		[50a] · · · ·		of. Matt. v. 13; Luke xiv. 34.
		[20 b] · · · ·		
	[10-35]			cf. Luke xix. 10; xv. 4-7; xvii. 3, 4.
Ħ		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		
	9 [10-12] · · ·	[10] 11, 12		cf. Luke xvi. 18; Matt. v. 31, 32.
	13, 14	13, 14	x viii. 15, 16 · · · · ·	cf. Matt. xviii. 2.
			· · · · · · LI	of. Matt. xviii. 3 [4].
			0,0	
		21		of Luke will 30
į	[1-12]			Mett vy 16 is sunnons
İ	61-41	75-56	31 16-33 [34]	of Luke ix. 41.
	20-24	35-41		with Mark x, 38 cf. Luke xii, 50.
	25-28	42-45		cf. Luke xxii. [24] 25-27.
	29-34 · · · · ·	46-52		
			xix. [1-10] [11-28] ¹⁷	'f cf. Matt. xxv. 14-30.

Sr. Matthew.	Sr. MABK.	Sr. Luke.	REMARKS.
xxd. 1-[4, 5]-9	xd. 1-10	zix 29-38	1 of. Matt. xxi. 15, 16. of. Matt. xxi. 15.
$\frac{(18, 198)^3}{12, 13[14]^4}$	13-14	45, 46 [474]*	of. Luke xiii. 6-9. stransposed. cf. Luke xiii. 6-9. stransposed. Luke 47 s.
15, 16 ⁵	18	47 b, 48 · · · ·	e cf. also Luke xiz. 39, 40, and vid. Matt. xxi. 11. of. Mark xi. 11 b; Luke xxi. 37.
21, 22 23-27	22-24	1-8	cf. Luke xvii. 6. cf. Matt. vi. 14, 15. Mark xi. 26 is spurious.
[30-32]. 33-42 [43]	xtt 1-11	9-17 18	e genuineness doubtful.
EXALL [1-14] 15-32 [33] 34-39 [40]	13-27 28-31 [32-34 m]	20–38 39 · · · ·	of Luke xiv. 16-24. of Luke xi. 53, 54. of Luke x. 25-27.
xxtii. [7 b-13°].	35-39	41-46	• with Matt. xxiii. 4 cf. Luke xi. 46. • cf. Luke xi. 52. Matt. xxiii. 14 is probably spurious.
[15-22] [23-36] [37-39] xxfv. 1-7a	xtft. 1-8 *	xxd. 1-4 · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	of. Luke xi. 39–51. of. Luke xiii. 34, 35.

12-[18]-19 of Matt. x. 17-22; Luke xii. 11, 12. 20, 21 a of Luke xvii. 31. 21 b [22] of Luke xvii. 31.	cf. Luke xvii. 21-23. cf. Luke xvii. 24 and 37. 10 cf. Luke 24 b with Matt. 29 a, edetorteefvor, and Mark 24 to teefvor ruis hufpan. 11 cf. however Luke 34, 35 with Matt. 36, Mk. 32, 36. cf. Luke xvii. 26-[31-33]-35; xvii 36 is spurious.	of. Matt. xxl. 12 a, 17 a; Mark xi. 11 b, 12 a (!).	14 transposed. 15 transposed. 16 transposed. 17 Transposed. 17 Transposed.	of Matk xx. 20-28; Mark x 35-45; Matk xviii. 1-5; Mark ix. 33-37; Luke ix. 46-48. 1s transposed. the parallel to Luke xxii. 37, viz. Mark xv. 28, is apprendict.	
12-[18]-19	24 b ¹⁰ -33 [34-35] ¹¹	[37, 38] · · · · ×xxtt. 1, 2	3-14 (21,23) ¹⁶ (22) ¹⁸ (198) ¹⁶	[35–15]	40 41-[43, 44 "]-46
9-13	24.18-33	xdv. 1, 3.	18, 19	26	31
9-[11, 12]-14 15, 16 17, 18	23-26 [27, 28] 29 ³⁰ -36 [37-41]		14-20	30	35 36 37,38 39-418.

REMARKS.	transposed. transposed. transposed. cf. Luke xxiii. 8, 9. order a good deal transposed. cf. Luke xxiii. 11. cf. Luke xxiii. 32. Mark xv. 27. transposed. cf. Luke xxiii. 32. Mark xv. 28 is spurious. cf. Luke xxiii. 36 with Matt. xxvii. 48, Mark xv. 36. transposed. transposed.
St. Luke.	xxii. 47-50 (66) ¹ tran-posed. (66) ¹ transposed. (67-71) ² (63-65)(56 * transposed. (4-12)
Sr. Mabk.	xIv. 43-47 55 - [59]-61 a 61 b-72 xv. 1-3 4.5 6-15 16-20 a 20 b-24 [25] 26 27 29 30-32 a 30-32 a 33-41 43 b 43 b 44 b 45 b 46 b 47 c xvI. 1-[2 b-3]-8 a [8 b]
Sr. Matthew.	xxv1. 47-51 [52-54] 55-58 60-63 a 63 b-75 12 b-14 15-[19]-[24,25]-26. 37-31 a 31 b-35 [36]. 37,40 a 40 b-42 [43]. 44,45 50 b 51 a-[51 b-53]-56 51 a-[61 b-53]-56 57 a-[61 b-60 a 60 b. 61 c.

III.

THE DAY AND YEAR OF St. POLYCARP'S MARTYRDOM'.

[C. H. TURNER.]

Μαρτγρεί δε ο μακάριος πολήκαρπος μηνός Σανθικος δεγτέρα ίσταμένος, προ έπτα καλανδών μαρτίων, ςαββάτω μεγάλω, ώρα όγδόμ τηνελήφθη ήπο ήρώδος επί άρχιερέως φιλίππος τραλλιανος, άνθηπατεύοντος сτατίος κοδράτος, Βασιλεύοντος δε είς τούς αἰώνας ἰποος χριστος ῷ ἡ δόΣα, τιμή, μεγαλωςίνη, θρόνος αἰώνιος ἀπό γενεᾶς εἰς γενεάν. ἀμήν.

THE readers of this volume of Studia Biblica will not unnaturally ask why, in presence of the very numerous questions which might reasonably demand notice in our sphere of work, one so apparently trivial as the exact date of a martyrdom should require to be re-opened for a fresh discussion after the learned and exhaustive paper read before the Society by Mr. Randell, of St. John's, in February, 1884, and printed in the earlier number of the series of which the present publication is the second.

To this question two answers may be offered.

In the first place, on the general ground it may be asserted that, minute as the enquiry doubtless is, there are few problems in the Christian history of the second century of equal interest and of equal importance with the precise dating of St. Polycarp's death. It is not only that it is a pivot of ecclesiastical chronology, but that on it depends largely the value we can place on the succession St. John, Polycarp, Irenaeus. Irenaeus was born not later, probably earlier, than

¹ An abstract of this paper has already appeared in print in the Guardian for April 18, 1888; and the writer takes this opportunity of thanking the Editor for his courtesy in consenting to what is more or less a republication of it.

A.D. 130. St. John lived on in Asia Minor down to the close of the first century. Between them stands Polycarp, and it is on the chronological proof of his intercourse with each of them that the issue turns. For Polycarp was eighty-six years old at the time of his martyrdom (Mart. Pol. & ix), and thus, after covering the at most thirty years' interval between the death of St. John and the birth of Irenaeus, more than half a century of his life remains which, if anything like equally divided between the life-time of his teacher and the life-time of his pupil, is amply sufficient to warrant him a trustworthy link between the one and the other. But when we fix the martyrdom of St. Polycarp, we fix also his birth, and therewith the length of his possible connection alike with his successor and with his predecessor.

It needs no more to show the intrinsic importance of the enquiry. But even so the re-opening of it here would be scarcely in place, were it not that the present writer—and this must be his main defence—is in a position of great advantage as compared with Mr. Randell, both because the latter's paper is ready to his hand, and even more by the intermediate appearance of the Bishop of Durham's volumes on St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp; not the least exhaustive or least conclusive portion of that memorable work being the discussion (vol. i. pp. 610–702) of the date of the martyrdom in question ¹.

When Mr. Randell wrote there was, it is true, already a general tendency among English scholars as well as on the Continent to admit the soundness of the arguments with which M. Waddington had sought, by the aid of a reconsideration of the chronological notices given in the rhetorician Aelius Aristides, to fix the date of the Asiatic proconsulship of T. Statius Quadratus—under whom, according to the

¹ All references in these pages are to the first edition of Bishop Lightfoot's work unless otherwise stated: the new edition (1889) came to hand too late to be employed in the text, and I have therefore added to my appendices a note on the new matter introduced, and especially on the criticism he has done me the honour to devote to my own view.

notices of the Letter of the Church of Smyrna (known as the Martyrium Polycarpi) the saint undoubtedly suffered—not, as had hitherto been the case, to the reign of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161-180), but to that of his predecessor Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–161). Aristides dates events both by proconsuls and by the years of a certain malady to which he was long subject, and so, if we can find external evidence for the date of any one proconsul who is mentioned in this connection, we could then argue by the years of the malady to other proconsuls similarly introduced. Now Julianus was, says Aristides, proconsul a year and some months after the malady commenced, and an inscription fixes this proconsulship to A.D. 145. From Julianus we get to Severus, from Severus to Quadratus, who is in consequence usually placed in A.D. 154-155 ¹.

But there were then still those who held to the traditional view. Among ourselves, Bishop Chr. Wordsworth, in his latest work (cf. A Church History to the Council of Nicaea, 1881, p. 161, note²), held it, though hesitatingly; and in Germany, Keim, a writer of by no means conservative tendencies, was equally unconvinced. Now, however, by the labours of Bishop Lightfoot, the question may almost be said, at least in England, to have been set at rest. Whatever doubt may have hung over the reconstructed Aristidean chronology, when that reconstruction stood alone, has surely been dis-

However, since the proconsuls held office, not from January to January, but from May to May, and because of the impossibility of arguing from one date to another without leaving a certain margin, more cannot be claimed with certainty for the ultimate result (as Dr. Lightfoot admits, p. 650), than that Quadratus came into office not earlier than A.D. 153, and not later than A.D. 155, so that the martyrdom can so far fall anywhere between May A.D. 153 and May A.D. 156; and though both the writers whose investigation into the details of this subject gives them the best claim to be heard, Waddington and Lightfoot, place the martyrdom early in A.D. 155, there are not wanting critics of the first rank, such as Hilgenfeld and Lipsius (see below), who on one ground or another prefer to place it early in A.D. 156.

² But in the latest edition (1889) the note in question has been re-written, in accordance with a request made by the late Bishop before his death to the present Bishop of Salisbury. See below, note, p. 152.

sipated by the striking coincidence with it of the epigraphical evidence relative to the date of another official mentioned in the account of the martyrdom. As the first discussion started from the name of the Proconsul, Quadratus, so the later discoveries centre round the name of the Asiarch, Philip of Tralles (Mart. Pol. & 12, 21). From one Trallian inscription we learn that the Trallian games of the 'eighth Olympiad after the Restoration' took place shortly before the death of Antoninus, probably late in A.D. 160 or early in A.D. 161. The 'Restoration' must therefore have happened about thirty years beforehand, and was doubtless reckoned from Hadrian's visit to Asia Minor in A.D. 129, so that the first Olympiad would probably begin in A.D. 129, and the eighth in A.D. 157. Hence we can also fix the fifty-sixth Olympiad, if, as seems the case, that is only a magniloquent paraphrase for the sixth, to A.D. 149-153; and the fifty-sixth is mentioned in two inscriptions in connection with the Trallian games held under G. Julius Philippus, who was simultaneously 'High-Priest of Asia.' This interpretation is confirmed by a further inscription from Olympia, which speaks of Philip of Tralles as Asiarch in the 232nd Olympiad, that is, some time in A.D. 149-152. These two results so entirely coincide that no hesitation need be felt in concluding that Philip of Tralles was Asiarch somewhere in the years A.D. 150-152. Then since the Asiarchate, like the periodical games, was 'pentaeteric,' that is renewed every four years, it may either be supposed that Philip was re-elected for a second tenure of office, or more simply that he was originally elected in A.D. 151 or 152, and so did not vacate till A.D. 155 or 156. These conclusions are worked out by the Bishop of Durham (pp. 612-618, cf. ii. 987-998), and this close agreement of two independent lines of evidence to the central years of the decade, A.D. 150-160, seemed to remove any possibility of scepticism 1.

¹ One or two suggestions may be added in completion of the Bishop's argument. Since the Asiatic year began in September (see inf. p. 113) it may be presumed that the 'Restoration' Olympiads date from September A.D. 129, and

Before, however, dismissing for good the older view, which connected the martyrdom with the reign of Marcus, it will be worth while to examine for one moment the grounds on which it was based. In this, as in so many other chronological matters, it is pretty clear that later writers 1 have

the sixth or fifty-sixth would not end till September A.D. 153, nor the eighth till September A.D. 161. Again, if Trallian games occurred shortly before Antoninus' death in March 161 A.D., then since they were no doubt pentaeteric, the other inscriptions relating to victories in the Trallian games two Olympiads earlier, may be fixed with great probability near the early months of A.D. 153. Future epigraphic discoveries may, one cannot help surmising, give us substantial help in this sort of way towards the Polycarpian question.

¹ Thus Jerome (De Vir. Illustr. 17) mentions Polycarp's visit to Anicetus as under Antoninus Pius, his martyrdom as under 'M. Antoninus' and L. Aurelius Commodus; apparently following Eusebius, H. E. iv. 14, 15, where the visit is mentioned before, the martyrdom after, the accession of 'Marcus Aurelius Verus, who is also Antoninus.'

The Church historian Socrates is, however, a strange exception, for in his well-known chapter on diversities of usage in different Churches (II. E. v. 22, p. 238, Bright), he instances the Quartodeciman dispute, and in connection with it the visit to Anicetus of Polycarp, δ καὶ ὕστερον ἐπὶ Γορδιανοῦ μαρτυρήσας, that is between A.D. 238 and A.D. 244! The only point of interest in so extraordinary a blunder is the question how can it have arisen, especially as Socrates is a more than usually careful writer, and ordinarily follows Eusebius closely: indeed, the visit to Anicetus, which is the only motive for the introduction of Polycarp's name here at all, is taken from the earlier historian (though from H. E. v. 24, not iv. 14). It would be natural to suppose that he would have turned to Eusebius for the date of the martyrdom as well, if he had not believed himself to have other quite trustwofthy authority for his statement. Either then he confused the great Polycarp with one of the other martyrs of the same name. to whose existence the oldest Kalendars witness (cf. Lightfoot, i. p. 689, Syriac K. under Jan. 27, Latin K. under Feb. 23); or, if he had, as is not unlikely, the martyrium at his command (§ 21 μαρτυρεί δὲ ὁ μακάριος Πολύκαρπος . . . ἐπζ άρχιερίως Φιλίππου Τραλλιανοῦ άνθυπατεύοντος Στατίου Κοδράτου), the conjecture may be offered that the phrase 'in the highpriesthood of Philip the Trallian, occurring before the Proconsul, in the place where the mention of the Emperor might be anticipated, may have originated the error. 'Αρχιερέων would be read αὐτοκρατόρος, or interpreted of the Emperor as Pontifex Maximus; and TPAA-AIANOT appears in some MSS, as TPAIANOT, the ductus litterarum of which is sufficiently near to ToPAIANOT. Philip and Gordian were apparently for a time colleagues in the empire; but as Philip was believed to have been a Christian, Socrates would repeat only Gordian's name as the persecutor. Or, an alternative explanation might be, that since a Philip is commemorated on coins as Recorder of Tralles in the age of the Gordians (Lightfoot, p. 960) the Asiarch Philip had in some way got confused with his later homonym, and been assigned his date.

only followed the fashion set by Eusebius, who in his History (iv. 15) inserts the Martyrium, or the greater part of it, immediately after the notice of Antoninus' death, and in his Chronicle was believed to have found a more precise date in A.D. 166 or 167. But in the latter passage, as Dr. Lightfoot, never more felicitous than when dealing with Eusebius, has conclusively shown, the historian is merely grouping together at some convenient point in this reign, as he has done in other reigns, all notices of persecutions belonging to it, but not otherwise dated. There is nothing really to suggest that for his Chronicle he possessed more detailed knowledge than is given in the History, where he even includes in the comparatively small omissions from the Martyrium the concluding section, teeming though it does with notices of time, each of which has contributed something to the modern enquiry, while none of them could have enlightened a writer destitute of our modern collections of provincial Fasti, lists of local Kalendars, and Corpora of inscriptions. Eusebius can in fact only be quoted as a witness to the reign, not to the year, of the martyrdom; and if we ask why he selected the reign of Pius rather than that of Marcus, it is plain that where the Martyrium itself failed to help him, he must have been thrown back on other and more general indications.

Such would be, primarily, the visit of Polycarp to Anicetus of Rome, our only piece of independent external evidence, twice quoted by Eusebius from Irenaeus (H. E. iv. 14, v. 24). Since the Episcopate of Anicetus is reckoned in the History as lasting from A.D. 157 to 168¹, and since Marcus succeeded to the throne early in A.D. 161, it was clear that there were more chances than not that, if not the visit, at any rate the martyrdom would fall under him. This conclusion would be

¹ Similarly Jerome's version of the Chronicle. The Armenian version does not essentially differ at this point; in any case see Lightfoot, ii. pp. 461-465, where Dr. Hort supplies good reasons for rejecting the common view that the Armenian correctly represents the original Chronicle—a view which necessitates the improbable hypothesis that Eusebius in his two works had two different chronologies of the Roman Bishops.

in accord with Eusebius' parti pris concerning the relation of the two Emperors to Christianity. According to him Pius was no persecutor, while Marcus confessedly was. On the one hand, the (spurious) toleration edict of H. E. iv. 13 is beyond question understood by Eusebius (whether rightly or wrongly) as belonging to Antoninus: and Melito's Apology, quoted in iv. 26, distinctly speaks of letters of the same Emperor to different cities in the Christian interest. On the other, he saw that the context in Melito postulates an existing persecution under Marcus, and the story of the Martyrs of Lyons (H. E. v. 1) belongs to the same reign 1.

Beyond doubt, then, Eusebius, if he had no other means of distinguishing, would have selected the reign of Marcus for the martyrdom of Polycarp on these a priori grounds, and the value of his evidence is neither more nor less than the probabilities of their correctness. But the presumptions on which, in the absence of other data, it was necessary for him to argue are nothing in face of the more definite evidence obtained from Aristides and the inscriptions; and the soundness of the conclusion of Waddington and Lightfoot is therefore established negatively as well as positively.

But if it is thus certain that the true date falls in or near A.D. 155, it is natural to ask further whether there is no means which will enable us to fix more exactly the year and even the day of the martyrdom; and the answer to the question lies in the Chronological Postscript to the Martyrium which is printed at the head of this paper. 'The Blessed

¹ One indeed of Eusebius' authorities, the Apologeticus of Tertullian, which he knew in a Greek translation (H. E. ii. 3, iii. 33), claimed all the good Emperors, and among them of course both Antoninus and Aurelius—but the latter, on the strength of the story of the Thundering Legion, with special emphasis—as protectors of the Christians. But Eusebius (erroneously) referred the Legion legend, and the consequent epistle of 'Marcus, the understanding Emperor,' to Aurelius' brother L. Verus, quoting Tertullian as an authority (H. E. v. 5); and either Tertullian's Greek translator (who certainly took the liberty to re-arrange Tertullian's haphazard mention of Emperors into chronological order: cf. Apol. 5 with H. E. v. 5), or more probably Eusebius himself significantly omitted the mention of 'Verus' (i. e. M. Aurelius) in the catalogue of non-persecuting Emperors.

Polycarp is martyred on the second of the month Xanthicus, the seventh before the Kalends of March, on a high Sabbath, at the eighth hour; he was arrested by Herod, Philip of Tralles being high priest, and Statius Quadratus proconsul.' Of these indications the last two, the Proconsulship and the Asiarchate have been already spoken of. There remain four, the day and month in the Asiatic reckoning; the same in the Roman reckoning; the day of the week; and the 'high' or festal character of the day. It is in this second part of the discussion that the treatment by Bishop Lightfoot is so unique in its thoroughness as necessarily to supply the material and the model for every subsequent writer. Only those who should compare the rest of this paper, paragraph by paragraph, and line by line, with the corresponding sections of the great work on which it is built, would understand how extensive and far-reaching the obligation is; and one is almost ashamed to feel that one has employed the matter so copiously supplied only in the construction of an alternative hypothesis.

- The Roman day and month: πρὸ ἐπτὰ καλανδῶν Μαρτίων,
 e. a. d. vii Kal. Mart., or February 23rd.
- (2) The Asiatic day and month: μηνὸς Ξανθικοῦ δευτέρα tοταμένου, the 2nd of Xanthicus. To help us in an enquiry into the Asiatic Kalendar of Imperial times we have (a) a 'Hemerologium of the months of different cities,' arranged to show the relation of each to the official Julian Kalendar of Rome, and preserved in two MSS, respectively at Florence and at Leyden; among the kalendars given being more than one of the Asiatic group 1: (b) three inscriptions of Proconsular Asia, which give side by side the Roman and the native dating, one of them as early as B.C. I, the second of A.D. 104, and the third as late as 'the age of the Antonines'; this last from Smyrna itself 2. The evidence of these two sources, MS,

¹ See Histoire de l'Academie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, tom. 47, pp. 66-84 (1809).

² But see also the appendices to this paper, where important additional material is adduced.

and inscriptions, is completely harmonious; and its general results may be summed up as follows.

The object of the introduction of such a kalendar—it dates from very shortly before the Christian era-would be, with as little change as possible in familiar names, such as those of the months, to arrive at some intelligible fixed relation with the universal and official kalendar of Rome. It must therefore of course be solar, while the older kalendar had been lunar; and further, though no change was introduced into the names of the months, which still differ in different cities, their relation to the Roman (that is practically to our own) Kalendar was the same throughout Proconsular Asia. Everywhere the year begins, not in midwinter, but at the autumnal equinox; everywhere the months begin eight days before the corresponding Roman months, and each has thus as many days as the Roman month with which it for the most part coin-These peculiarities of the Kalendar are a sign and an outcome of the extraordinary pitch to which Caesar-worship was carried from the very first in Asia. September 23rd (a.d. ix Kal. Oct.) was the birthday of Augustus; not only was the year made to begin on this day, but every month began likewise on the ninth before the Kalends, so as to give, besides the yearly, a monthly commemoration of the birthday on the first of every month. A further point to be remembered in this Asian Kalendar is, that the 31st was never used; in months of thirty-one days the 1st was repeated, so that the really second day was also called the 1st, the real third the 2nd, and so on till the month ended with a real thirty-first called the 30th: or to put it otherwise, a day was intercalated at the commencement of every such month.

Xanthicus was one of the Macedonian names for the months; but these were at this time used by two kalendars, and in the Syro-Macedonian Kalendar of Josephus, Eusebius, and the Apostolic Constitutions the months are one ahead of the Asio-Macedonian. So in Syria Xanthicus is the seventh month or April, in Asia the sixth, and roughly equivalent to

1

March ¹. Commencing then with a. d. ix Kal. Mart. (Feb. 21), and since March is a month of thirty-one days repeating its first, the second Xanthicus is Feb. 23, or a. d. vii Kal. Mart., as given in the Martyrium.

(3) The day of the week: σαββάτφ, Sabbath or Saturday.

The two results first obtained, though confirming one another and independently witnessing to Feb. 23 as the day and month of the martyrdom, fail to help us to the year. But when we add to these a third in the day of the week, we can proceed to ask in which of the possible years 154, 155, 156 A.D. did Feb. 23 fall on a Saturday, and it is found by calculation that it was in A.D. 155. Feb. 23, 155 A.D., is therefore the year and day for which Dr. Lightfoot concludes.

(4) The feast: σαββάτφ μεγάλφ, 'a high sabbath.'

Beyond doubt this feast was a Jewish one: the only possible Christian high sabbath would be the Saturday before the Pascha, which, at least among Quartodecimans, would itself coincide with the great Jewish feast. But about the time we require, the end of February, there is one and only one important feast, the Jewish Purim, exactly the occasion, with its memories of Esther and Mordecai, to rouse Jewish popular excitement as we hear it was roused against Polycarp. Now Purim was held at the full moon of Adar (the month before Nisan), that is, since the Jewish months began with the new moon, on Adar 14, 15; and according to Jewish use a 'high sabbath' connected with it will be the sabbath previous to the 14th². The 'high sabbath' of the modern Jews is the sabbath

¹ The origin of this curious variation lay, it is natural to suppose, in the difficulty of the transformation of lunar into solar months. To take a familiar instance, the Jewish month Nisan (for which Josephus uses Xanthicus as the secular equivalent) being that whose full moon fell first after the spring equinox, might in some years be nearly equivalent to the Roman solar month March, in others to April, and thus if Nisan had to be Romanized, it might have been turned into either of the two.

² This sort of use, the reverse of our own system of keeping an Octave on the Sunday after a great festival, has its survival or counterpart in the Kalendar of the Eastern Church, where Quinquagesima week, for instance, is the week before, not the week after Quinquagesima; see Burgon, Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark, p. 194.

before the Passover, and the Roman Jews of the present day keep the sabbath before Pentecost as a 'high sabbath.' On the high authority of Dr. Neubauer it may be added that the Jews of the second century may not improbably have similarly kept the sabbath before Purim.

But what relation did the Jewish feast of Purim bear in A.D. 155 to Feb. 23?

In that year the first full moon after Feb. 23 fell about March 7, so that even if that were (as no doubt it was) the full moon of Adar, yet since Purim would be about March 6 and 7, the 'high sabbath' before it must have been not Saturday, Feb. 23, but Saturday, March 2¹. What is to be said to this?

Dr. Lightfoot's answer would simply be, that the Jewish Kalendar of the second century was in a state of such confusion, that it would be hopeless to fix Purim, or the 'high sabbath' before the feast, by its means. Any feast might fall anywhere at all near its true time; and as the rest of the evidence seemed to point conclusively to Feb. 23, 155 A.D., he assumes that Purim must have occurred simultaneously, and has not investigated this branch of the question. But has not the Bishop exaggerated the extent to which confusion was possible in a lunar kalendar like the Jewish?

There are two natural divisions of time, the lunar month or the time from new to new moon, averaging 29½ days, and the solar year, or succession of the seasons regulated by the sun, nearly equal to 365 days; and these two are the base respectively of the genuine lunar and solar kalendars. Both the month and year, however, are convenient divisions of time,

¹ If the discrepancy had been only one of a day or two, it might have been feasible to conceive hypotheses in explanation of it. But the one main qualification possible for the statement in the text tells the other way, for so far as the Jewish Kalendar was still based on observation, the first of the month must fall a day or so after the astronomical new moon, and the fifteenth similarly later than the true full moon. That is to say, in A.D. 155, Purim may have been still later than March 6 and 7, and February 23 falls still more decisively out of the question.

and therefore each of the two kalendars borrowed the distinctive time-division of its rival. In particular the Jewish Kalendar was from the first that we know of it in the Pentateuch a combination of this sort. Lunar, because its months were lunar, each beginning with the new moon, it was yet in practice solar as well, for the feasts of unleavened bread, of harvest, and of ingathering (Exod. xxiii. 15, 16) are connected with the cycle of the seasons. Obviously the attempt would soon be made to reduce the year and the months to a common denomination; in other words, from the moment that these solar feasts were fixed to definite months (Exod. xii. 2, 6, xiii. 4, Deut. xvi. 1, 9, etc.) it followed that the months themselves, which were lunar, must be brought into some relation with the solar year. Now it is easy enough for ourselves to correlate our months and year, because our months are only artificial divisions of the solar year, approximating to, but not identical with, the true month. The difference indeed between the lunar month and the twelfth of the solar year is comparatively minute (about a day), but twelve lunar months, instead of making 365, make only 354 days; and this divergence would of course very soon increase so far as to destroy all relation with the solar year, and therewith all connection of definite months with the feasts of definite seasons of the year. The device which the Jews employed, no doubt at an early time, as we know they did later, was simply the intercalation of a thirteenth month whenever the twelfth ended too soon for the offerings of the firstfruits of the barley harvest, which marked the feast of unleavened bread (Deut. xvi. 9, Lev. xxiii. 10), to be made in the middle of the next month at the full moon of Nisan 1. As the twelve lunar months fall short of the solar year by eleven days, this would happen on an average rather oftener than once in three years.

It is, however, to be remembered that in both directions the original Jewish Kalendar was formed on the principles, not of

¹ Cf. Dictionary of the Bible, iii. p. 1804, article 'Year,' by Mr. R. S. Poole.

calculation, but of observation; the month began when the moon was seen to be new, the year when the barley harvest was approaching ripeness, and no serious mistakes were possible. The system was free from complexity, but suitable only to a people living in an area so small (the Holy Land is not more than about the size of Wales) that the beginning of the coming month could be fixed at Jerusalem for all Palestine The difficulty indeed in the case of the the day before. months cannot have been great, even after the Dispersion, for the new moon would be usually visible on the same evening throughout the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, and anyone could perform the operation of observing it for himself. But the commencement of the year, involving the question of the intercalation of a thirteenth month, stood on different ground. It was impossible for a Jew of Mesopotamia or of Egypt to tell by observation when the barley harvest would be ripe in Palestine, and therefore in what month he was wanted at Jerusalem for the Passover. That could be fixed only on the spot, and the knowledge would have to be communicated to foreign Jews in time to allow of their arrival before the middle of the first month Nisan—an obviously impracticable feat. Therefore as soon as (if not before) the Jews of the Dispersion had to be taken into account as well as those of Palestine, the old empiric methods must have given place to some system of universal application. Instead then of the first ripe ears of barley harvest, the spring equinox seems to have become at some unknown period the terminus a quo of the Paschal full moon—the limit before which the middle of the first month Nisan might not fall—and in this way the ultimate starting-point of the Jewish Kalendar. Some such reform, even if never made before, would have become a literal necessity when the destruction of the Temple put an end to the central worship, and each community had to keep the Passover for itself. With the disappearance of the single celebration, and of the authority which regulated it, unity had for the future to be sought in the adoption of a single

self-perpetuating kalendar. But the commencement of the new year according to the equinox was not a simple matter of astronomical observation like the new moon of the month; for (not to speak of the different dates assigned to the equinox) it was not the new moon but the full moon only of Nisan which had to fall after it, while the intercalation of a month, when necessary, would have to be determined upon some weeks Therefore, just as the Christians found with earlier still. their Easter, so the Jews with their Passover doubtless felt that the only means to secure uniformity was the universal adoption of some cycle based on astronomical calculations for a long sequence of years which should show the day of the Passover for each year, and, like a recurring series of decimals, should begin again as soon as it was finished, with the same dates. Ultimately the Jews resorted unanimously to the nineteen years' cycle. But that was long after the era of St. In the second century, what with the various equinoxes and rival cycles and independent observations, the Jewish Kalendar was apparently in a state of hopeless confusion.

Only, while all this is perfectly true, it will be noticed at once that the whole perplexity was concerned with the year, and with the months only in their relation to the year, not in themselves. Least of all does it cover Dr. Lightfoot's hypothesis that the Jews ever celebrated a full moon feast such as that of Purim in Adar—and if Purim in Adar, why not Passover in Nisan?—at any other time than that of full moon when the veriest tyro's observation of the heavens would prove them in the wrong ¹. And there is the further presumption against it, that had so gross a mistake in the

¹ If anything could make disagreement with Dr. Lightfoot on such a point less burdensome, it would be agreement with Dr. Salmon, and it is therefore encouraging to find that the latter writer, in the article *Polycarp* in the last volume of the Dictionary of Christian Biography (vol. iv. p. 430, cols. 1, 2, note), while admitting that his own hypothesis had been disproved by the Bishop, makes the same criticism on the Bishop's theory as has been made here.

Paschal calculations ever occurred, we should surely have heard of it, if not from Jewish, at any rate from Christian sources. The Asiatic Church of St. Polycarp's day kept its Pascha with the Jews and hotly contested the view that the Christian celebration was to be connected with the day of the week rather than with the day of the month; yet they were never accused of mistaking the true fourteenth, and indeed even their adversaries started from the same fourteenth and reckoned the Sunday after it as their festival. Again, when at the beginning of the third century the Christians found out with their greater astronomical knowledge that the Jewish methods were deficient (so that their superior science combined with their growing hatred of Judaism in inducing them to strike out a new line for themselves) they have their definite gravamen against the Jews, but it is connected with the calculation, not of the month, but of the year. 'They often celebrate the Passover,' it was said 1, 'twice in the same year,' counting, that is, from equinox to equinox. In other words, the Jewish 15th Nisan did not always fall, as it should have done, after the equinox, and when it wrongly fell before, it was the second Passover held since the March equinox of the preceding year. There was no question either then or earlier of a mistake of anything less than a month. Passover and similarly Purim (as another full moon feast) might be a month wrong, as being held at the wrong full moon; but they could only be a month wrong. An error of a fortnight, the celebration of the full moon at the new moon, is

¹ Cf. the Letter of Constantine to the Churches from the Council of Nicaea (in Socrates, H. E. i. 9, p. 24, Bright): μηδέν τοίνυν έστω ύμῦν κοινὸν μετὰ τοῦ ἐχθίστου τῶν Ἰουδαίων δχλου . . . κάν τούτφ τῷ μέρει τὴν ἀλήθειαν οὐχ ὁρῶσιν, ἀν ἀ ἐκατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτοὺς πλανωμένους, ἀντὶ τῆς προσηκούσης ἐπανορθώσεως, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει δείντερον τὸ Πάσχα ἐπιτελεῖν. So again the Apostolic Constitutions (v. 17, p. 149 Lagarde) δεῖ οὖν ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί . . . τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ Πάσχα ἀκριβῶς ποιεῖσθαι μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας μετὰ τροπὴν ἰσημερίνην, ὅπως μὴ δὶς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐνὸς παθήματος μνείαν ποιῆσθε . . . μηκέτι παρατηρούμενοι μετὰ Ἰουδαίων ἐορτά-ζειν . . . πεπλάνηνται γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ψηφόν, κ.τ.λ. The same seems to be the drift of an earlier writer, Anatolius of Laodicea, a passage of whose Κανόνες περὶ τοῦ Πάσχα is preserved in Rusebius, H. E. vii. 32.

inconceivable; an error of a week little less so. Dr. Lightfoot's hypothesis requires an error of at least four or five days 1.

It seems therefore to have been proved satisfactorily that Saturday, Feb. 23, A.D. 155, is the only possible day, and yet that it fails to satisfy an important condition. Is there no way out of the difficulty?

The thought suggested itself that in the next year, A.D. 156, Nisan 15 would fall about March 24, and Adar 15 or Purim about February 24², as the year was leap-year. But then of course as Feb. 23 was Saturday in A.D. 155, not Feb. 23 but Feb. 22 should be Saturday in A.D. 156, and the 'high sabbath' before Purim. We seem therefore equally at fault here, for the condition 'the seventh before the Kalends of March' is not satisfied.

But it is not inopportune to draw attention now to the fact that the primary datum is the 2nd Xanthicus, which is only explained as being the seventh before the Kalends, or Feb. 23. Was there then no possible means by which at least in A.D. 156, Xanthicus 2 might really fall on the eighth before the Kalends, Saturday, February 22?

It is here that the most curious phenomenon of the investigation meets us. Lightfoot gives four inscriptions as the only instances with double Asiatic and Roman dating; one of these, an Ephesian inscription of A.D. 104, is dated on the '2nd of Anthesterion,' the very same day as that of Polycarp's martyrdom (for Anthesterion is the Athenian and Ephesian name for Xanthicus) and the equivalent given is, not the seventh, but the eighth before the March Kalends, Feb. 22: πρὸ

¹ Dr. Neubauer, whose kindness I gratefully acknowledge, answers me that a day's error is as much as need be taken into account.

² In years where a month is intercalated, Adar is of course not the month next before, but next but one before Nisan. Happily this special source of confusion may be left out of account, as in neither of the years A.D. 155 or 156 was an intercalation necessary.

The astronomical dates are given in the text; it has been already mentioned that, if the new moon was fixed by observation, dates at least a day later must be given for the full moon feasts: but the argument is not affected.

η' καλανδών Μαρτίων...' Ανθεστηριώνος β' σεβαστη 1. The coincidence is singularly striking; and if we may provisionally assume Feb. 22 for St. Polycarp's day, the two support one another, though the anomaly, even if a double one, still requires explanation, for certainly the Asiatic Kalendar was older than A.D. 104, and lived on as late as A.D. 156, and in the Asiatic Kalendar Xanthicus 2 was Feb. 23. In the case of the inscription Dr. Lightfoot supposes that the Asiatic double 1st' was not employed; but if not necessary at Ephesus in A.D. 104, why should it be necessary at Smyrna in A.D. 156? Here would be one defence of the date now offered, Feb. 22, A.D. 156².

But a hint worth working out is supplied by Dr. Lightfoot in calling attention to the use, in the inscription mentioned, of the word $\sigma \in \beta a \sigma \tau \hat{\eta}$, which is used of a day of the month only in three inscriptions from Egypt-two of them simply Θωὺθ σεβαστῆ and Φαρμοὺθ σεβαστῆ, but the third Φαωφὶ a' Ἰουλία $\sigma \in \beta$ αστ $\hat{\eta}$ —and in the Leyden MS. of the Hemerology already referred to, where it stands opposite the first day of several months in the Lycian Kalendar. Clearly there is some connection between $\sigma \in \beta a \sigma \tau \dot{\eta}$, Augustus' day, and the first of the month. May it not be then a sort of monthly commemoration of the Emperor on the prerogative day of each month, so that the Asiatics will have outdone their neighbours, not by a monthly commemoration of Augustus on the first, which was more widely observed, but by the unique compliment of making this commemoration coincide with his actual birthday, the ninth before the Kalends? But then the $\sigma \in \beta a \sigma \tau \dot{\eta}$ is added only to some of the Lycian months. True; to those only of thirty-one days. says—the point of whose reasoning on this subsidiary question Dr. Lightfoot seems not to have quite reproduced—there is no ground why these particular firsts should be distinguished

¹ This will be made clearer, inf. p. 123.

³ See further on this point Dr. Lightfoot's new edition, and the note at the end of this paper.

from others in the Lycian Kalendar, an ordinary one much on the Roman model; but the distinction is full of meaning if conjectured to have been borrowed or transposed from the Asian Kalendar where it is just in these months of thirty-one days, with their double firsts, that a distinctive mark for the true first is of use. $\Sigma \epsilon \beta a \sigma r \dot{\eta}$, it may thus be supposed, was in Asia a title of the first or Emperor's birthday 1, specially employed in those months where his birthday needed to be distinguished from its successor, another nominal first.

Still, although February 21st, the former of the two firsts of Xanthicus, might in this way be correctly denominated a' $\sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\dot{\eta}$, this does not prove that February 22nd can be β' $\sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\dot{\eta}$ as required. Can a clue to this further perplexity reside in the coincidence that both A.D. 104 of the Ephesian inscription and A.D. 156, the hypothetical martyrdom, were leap-years?

The leap-year system is of course the characteristic of the Julian Kalendar, which like our own intercalated a day to every fourth February, not however by adding one after the 28th, but by repeating the 24th or 6th before the Kalenda, whence the name bissextile. As the Asiatic Kalendar bore a fixed relation to the Julian, it too must have incorporated the intercalated day. But how?

(a) Not in the Asiatic February or Dystrus at all. For that ended with its 28th on Feb. 20, and an intercalated or additional day would prevent Xanthicus from beginning on the ninth before the Kalends (Feb. 21) and destroy the whole schematism.

Therefore in Xanthicus², which is already of thirty-one days, and must be produced to thirty-two; but

- (b) Not at the end of Xanthicus, for to end with the
- ¹ Dr. Lightfoot now accepts this view of Usener's, which is supported by a new Pergamene inscription. See inf. p. 152.
- ² For the discussion of a contrary theory of Archbishop Ussher that the leap-year day was intercalated in September, which has only come under my notice since the body of this paper was in type, see the Appendix, pp. 131 sqq.

30th is a principle of the kalendar. Therefore just as the 31st day was incorporated at the beginning of the month, so on some similar method must the 32nd have been. Would not the repetition of the 2nd be the natural method?

For there are two conditions which the intercalation of the extra day must satisfy.

- (1) It must be done on the existing principles of the Kalendar; and these clearly suggest the double
- (2) It must interfere as little as possible with the normal relation of the Asiatic to the Roman Kalendar. But the Julian extra day comes in on the 24th, our hypothetical Asiatic day on the 22nd. Only then on three days of leap-year, Feb. 22, 23, 24, if we are right, will the Julian equivalent of the Asiatic day differ from that of an ordinary year.

These results will be made clearer by a table.

	Normal Asiatic	Kalendar.	Conjectural K	alendar for Leap Yea	ır.
Feb. 20	[Dystrus]	a.d. x Kal. Mart.	a. d. x Kal. Mart.	[Dystrus]	Feb. 20
21	Xanthicus A XE	B ix	ix	Xanthicus A ZEB	21
22	A	viii	v iii	B ZEB	22
#3	В	₹ii	vii	A	23
			₩i	В	24
24	r	∀i	l vi	r	25
25	Δ	▼	▼	Δ	26
26	E	iv	iv	E	27
27	r	i ii	iii	•	28
28	Z	prid. Kal. Mart.	prid. Kal. Mart.	Z	29
Mar. 1	H	Kal. Mart.	Kal. Mart.	H	Mar. 1

If the conjecture hazarded as to the meaning of a' $\sigma\epsilon\beta a\sigma\tau\eta$ as distinct from a' be correct, it would follow that β' $\sigma\epsilon\beta a\sigma\tau\eta$ of the Ephesian inscription as distinct from β' meant the earlier as opposed to the latter 2nd. Certainly this 2nd had not the same connection with the Emperor as a' $\sigma\epsilon\beta a\sigma\tau\eta$; but the transference in any case is easy and natural, and the festival which the martyrdom shows to have been proceeding, was apparently (since the Asiarch was president of the games) connected with the $\kappa o\nu r dr$ 'Asías, or Commune Asiae, and

therefore with the worship of the Emperors. But the $\kappa o u \partial v$ 'A $\sigma i as$ was arranged on a pentaeteric principle 1, that is, in periods of four years, and it becomes not impossible that one of its celebrations recurred at each leap-year.

The proposed day, Saturday, Feb. 22, the 'high sabbath' of Purim of the year A.D. 156, satisfies thus:—(i) the Proconsul, (ii) the Asiarch, (iii) the Asiatic day and month, (iv) the day of the week, (v) the festival.

It remains only to consider certain subsidiary points on which evidence might be produced in objection to, or in confirmation of, the result attained.

I. The first objection which suggests itself is the equation of the Asiatic date in the Martyrium by the Roman πρὸ ἐπτὰ καλανδών Μαρτίων, the 23rd, not the 22nd February. But three alternatives are possible in answer, each of which will rob it of its force. If this equation is due to the original writers, we shall find, if we put ourselves in their position, that some Christian probably possessed a table which equated Asiatic and Julian days like the Hemerology of the MSS., but which, like that, omitted to treat separately of leap-years, and consequently gave the 'seventh before the Kalends of March' as the only equivalent of the 2nd Xanthicus. Or again the original writers may not have written έπτα at all, but ὀκτώ, which some copyist, who found that in his Hemerology the seventh and not the eighth before the Kalends was the true equivalent, altered into $\xi \pi \tau \dot{a}$, under the idea that he was benefiting historical accuracy. Or yet, thirdly, the Roman equivalent may not have been given in the original at all, but have been added when the document was being circulated outside Asia, in countries where the Asiatic Kalendar would be unfamiliar and a Roman date would be requisite; the leap-year would of course under these circumstances be forgotten, and the equivalent of the Hemerologies inserted.

II. But in the Acts of Pionius, belonging to A.D. 250 in

¹ Cf. on points connected with the Asiarchate the appendix in Lightfoot, ii. pp. 987-998.

the Decian persecution, we are told that the martyr was apprehended 'on the birthday of the blessed martyr Polycarp' on the second day of the sixth month, for which again the Latin gives February 23. Since, however, in Smyrna, reckoning would primarily be kept by the Asiatic Kalendar rather than by the Roman, St. Polycarp's festival would be observed on the 2nd Xanthicus, on whatever Roman day that fell. And as in every year, except leap-year, Xanthicus 2 is really Feb. 23, and A.D. 250 was not leap-year, Feb. 23 was the correct date for the festival in that year.

III. The same explanation is valid if in the old martyrologies, especially in that of the great Syriac MS. of the British Museum (written A.D. 411), Shebat 23—i. e. February 23—is given as St. Polycarp's day; for the ordinary equivalent, and as soon as it was forgotten that the saint suffered in leap-year, the certain equivalent, of Xanthicus 2 was February 23.

IV. More serious is the next, and last, objection which occurs to the writer. In the already mentioned Acts of Pionius the day of that martyr's apprehension is not only the 2nd of Xanthicus, and birthday of St. Polycarp, but also a 'high sabbath.' Now, if this is to have the same meaning for Pionius as for Polycarp, it ought similarly to be tested in relation to Purim and the month of Adar. But in A.D. 250, which is all but certainly the year of those Acts, Nisan 15 fell somewhere about April 4, and Adar 15 consequently about March 6. Here again, just as in the case of Dr. Lightfoot's view in A.D. 155, it would seem that Saturday, Feb. 23, cannot be the preceding or 'high sabbath.'

But is it really probable that in the middle of the third century any Christian writer would intentionally calculate his dates by a Jewish feast? What was natural enough a century earlier, when the Church kept perhaps only two great festivals, and these at least in Asia Minor exactly synchronous with the Passover and Pentecost of the Jews—so that when the Jews calculated their Pascha wrongly, the

Christians did the same—was at this date no longer likely. The Jewish Kalendar would cease to be familiar after the second phase of the great Easter question had begun to agitate the Church, and it was realized that the Jews could not be trusted to fix the true astronomical date for the full moon of Nisan. This conviction was the raison d'être of the attempts of Christian scientists to calculate Easter cycles for themselves; and it seems to have been universally acted on by A.D. 250. The 'Paschal Chronicle' of Hippolytus was drawn up as early as A.D. 222, and for half a century this computation or modifications of it apparently held the field, and very probably extended to Asia 1. But whether this one or another, some Christian system, and no longer the Jewish, must surely by this time have prevailed in Smyrna.

If then it is thus improbable that the Pionian Acts should have reckoned time by the Jewish Kalendar, what explanation is to be given of the 'high sabbath'? Can it have been a Christian festival? Certainly the Eastern Churches kept the Sabbath as a feast, and possibly a sabbath coinciding with the 'birthday' of Polycarp, the patron saint so to speak of the Church of Smyrna, might be treated as a 'high

1 It is true that the Asiatics were originally Quartodecimans, though they were so no longer at the time of the Council of Nicaea, and perhaps considerably earlier. But in any case they were not Ebionite or Judaizingly inclined Quartodecimans, and there was no reason why they should be less averse to abandoning Jewish errors than other people. Any non-Quartodeciman cycle is serviceable even to Quartodecimans; for as the day of the month (the full moon) had to be fixed before the day of the week (the Sunday after the full moon), all that a Quartodeciman had to do was to utilize the first and neglect the second part of the calculation. Thus Hippolytus formed a 112-years' cycle, after which Easter was to begin to fall again on the same series of days; but astronomically this was only a sixteen years' cycle, after which the full moon was to fall again on the same series of days of the (solar) month, and it was only because the same day of the month would, after an interval of sixteen years, fall on a different day of the week—and so on through the seven days of the week-that the sixteen-years' cycle required to be multiplied by seven before a cycle was attained in which not only the full moon but the Sunday after it fell recurringly on the same series of days of the month.

The wide circulation and adoption in the East of the cycle of Hippolytus (who wrote in Greek) would partly explain the extraordinary vitality of his fame there as compared with the West.

sabbath,' like a red letter Saint's Day coinciding with a Sunday. But a much simpler explanation is permissible. It has apparently escaped even Dr. Lightfoot's notice (at least he lays no stress on it) that the chronological data of the beginning and end of the Pionian Acts, the apprehension and the martyrdom of Pionius, are both modelled on the notice in our Martyrium, as is on comparison abundantly clear 1.

Acta Pionii, § 2. Martyrium Polycarpi, Acta Pionii, § 23. § 21. μηνός Εανθικού δευτέρα μηνός έκτου δευτέρα Ισταπρό τεσσάρων ίδων Μαρμένου [vel ἐνισταμέ-Ισταμένου πρό [έπτά] τίων κατά 'Ρωμαίους, κατά δὲ 'Ασιανούς μηrou] καλανδών Μαρτίων νός έκτου έννεακαιδεκάτη σαββάτφ μεγάλφ ὥρφ ημέρα σαββάτψ ώρα δεσαββάτον μεγάλον [MS. σαββάτου μεγάλου]² όγδόη συνελήφθη ... κάτη . . . συνελήφθησαν . . . βασιλεύοντος δέ είς τοὺς κατά δὲ ήμας βασιλεύοντος τοῦ Κυρίου ήμῶν αίωνας 'Ιησού Χριστού, Ίησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Ε΄ ή φ ή δόξα..... dofa els roùs alŵras τῶν αἰώνων. $d\mu \eta \nu$. άμήν.

Martyrium Polycarpi, § 18.

ἐν τἢ γενεθλίο ἡμέρα τὴν τ τοῦ μακαρίου μάρτυ- ἡμι ρος Πολυκάρπου.

την τοῦ μαρτυρίου αὐτοῦ ημέραν γενέθλιον.

Now it becomes explicable that in all the recensions of the Pionian Acts, the final date, that of St. Pionius' martyrdom, is

¹ It may be mentioned in confirmation of this view that the Acts of Pionius are the only instance among some twenty parallels in the Acta Martyrum referred to by Dr. Lightfoot for the 'regnante Jesu Christo,' in which the hour of martyrdom is given.

² Either the original writer or a later scribe was ignorant of the meaning of loraμένου in connection with the day of the month, and therefore altered the text so as to construct it with σαββάτου.

said to be a sabbath, whereas in fact it was obviously a Tuesday. But if the 'sabbath' at the end of the Acts was thus an erroneous and parrot-like repetition from the Martyrium of Polycarp, it is not difficult to believe that the 'high sabbath' of the beginning of the Acts may have had the same origin, and the same absence of justification. The apprehension of Pionius coincided alike in the day of the week and of the month with the martyrdom of Polycarp, and if the writers were ignorant, as it is natural to suspect, what the 'high sabbath' really meant in Polycarp's case, they might thoughtlessly assume it to be equally valid with the rest of the data for their own purpose.

Finally there are two arguments to be stated in confirmation of the date proposed in this paper, which seem to make A.D. 156 more probable for the martyrdom than A.D. 155.

I. L. Statius Quadratus was Consul Ordinarius in A.D. 142, and proconsul, on Dr. Lightfoot's view, from A.D. 154 to 155, on that here put forward from A.D. 155 to 156. But (though the data are too few to generalize from with confidence) there is no other instance quoted in the second century where it can be said with certainty that a less interval than thirteen years intervened between consulship and proconsulship 1; and the extra year allowed here in Quadratus' case is so far a gain.

II. Of more importance is Irenaeus' express statement, made more than once, that Polycarp visited Bishop Anicetus at Rome. But Eusebius, as has been seen, places the accession of Anicetus as late as A.D. 157, and this has to be thrust back two years to allow of a visit from Polycarp in A.D. 155 (probably in summer), even if the martyrdom is placed in A.D. 156; while if the martyrdom is put a year earlier, a three years' transposition of Eusebius' date becomes necessary. It is the serious matter of this extra year which has induced the author of the 'Chronology of the Roman Bishops,' Prof.

¹ See the list in Lightfoot, i. 640; I am assuming that it is exhaustive.

Lipsius, to adopt A.D. 156 in preference to A.D. 1551. then, in order to do so, since Feb. 23 was no sabbath in A.D. 156, he has arbitrarily condemned as spurious the mention of the 'high sabbath,' both in the chronological postscript and in the body of the Martyrium. If the present enquiry has achieved nothing else (and it does not pretend to have done more than to have brought forward another claimant for the true date of the martyrdom), it can at least claim to have based Lipsius' conclusion on intelligible and consistent premisses. Should any other explanation of the 'high sabbath' be put forward, the main objection to A.D. 155 will of course disappear. But so long as the identification with Purim is maintained, so long will it seem that A.D. 156 is a more probable date, and that a hypothesis which makes it a possible year from the point of view of the rest of the evidence is not destitute of support. Such as it is, it is left to the consideration and criticism of students of ecclesiastical history.

¹ But see inf. p. 154.

APPENDIX I.

ON A PASCHAL HOMILY PRINTED IN ST. CHRY-SOSTOM'S WORKS ASCRIBED BY USSHER TO A. D. 672. BUT REALLY BELONGING TO A.D. 387.

[C. H. T.]

It was an integral feature of the theory put forward above that the intercalation of the additional day in leap-year took place in Asia almost, though not quite, at the same date as in Rome. But since the preceding Essay was in type the writer has come across an alternative view of the Asiatic intercalation, to which it would be only fair in any case that he should direct attention; but he hopes to be able to show that the fresh evidence thus adduced is really in complete harmony with what was said on pp. 122 sqq.

To Archbishop Ussher, the critic whose sagacity foretold the recovery of the genuine Ignatius, we owe also the first attempt to treat systematically of the Asiatic chronological system, and in particular to take into consideration the leap-year variations. It was indeed a task which without the aid of the Hemerology (and the Hemerology was not known before A.D. 1715) would probably have never met with complete success, for the intercalation of the repeated first was an expedient not likely to have suggested itself even to the acutest scholar. But unfortunately Ussher had also not perceived that the Macedonian kalendars of Syria and of Asia, though they used the same twelve names for the months, did not use them of the same months, each month in Syria having the name of the month next preceding in Asia. Thus while in Asia Xanthicus (as the Hemerology tells us) was equivalent to late February and March, in Syria it was practically equivalent to April. Of these two reckonings the Syrian was by far the commoner, and Ussher assumed it to be the only one; so that when St. Polycarp suffered on the 2nd Xanthicus, this ought to fall (not in February but) at the end of March or beginning of April. Now the Paschal Chronicle actually does place the martyrdom, not with the text of the Martyrium on a. d. vii Kal. Mart.,

¹ De Macedonum et Asianorum Anno Solari, reprinted in vol. ix. of Gronovius, Theeaurus Graecarum Antiquitatum, pp. 1205-1268.

but a month later, on a. d. vii Kal. Apr. (March 26)¹; and Ussher following its authority, concluded that Xanthicus, the seventh month of the kalendar, commenced on March 25.

Now in a Paschal Homily attributed by Balsamon to St. Chrysostom, and printed in Savile's edition of that father (vol.v. pp. 940-949) from a MS. belonging to Gabriel, Archbishop of Philadelphia, the author is apparently addressing his congregation just before Lent began, on the subject of the date of Easter, which was falling that year later (so it was said) than had ever been known before later certainly than the heretics or the Jews were keeping it on that occasion 2—'on the second day of the eighth month.' April 25 is the latest day on which Easter according to any reckoning was ever made to fall; hence the eighth month cannot begin later than April 24. But the Homilist also speaks of the '26th day of the seventh month' as falling exactly a week earlier (than the and of the eighth month), that is, not later than April 18; from which Ussher saw that it followed that the seventh month itself cannot begin, as from the day of St. Polycarp he had deduced that it ought to begin, on March 25, but at latest March 24. Consequently he supposed that this difference of a day must be due to leap-year, the intercalation being made at Rome in February, in Asia as he conjectured at the end of the Asiatic year in September, so that all Asiatic dates between February and September will, if transposed into Roman reckoning, appear a day earlier than usual. If the Paschal Homily falls in leap-year, its seventh month would then begin correctly on March 24, and not, as in other years, on March 25. Since then in only one instance between A.D. 140 and A.D. 919-in A.D. 672-did Easter fall simultaneously on April 25 and in leap-year, Ussher concludes that this is the only admissible date for the Homily in question.

That Ussher was building on a radically unsound foundation when he supposed that St. Polycarp's death and the 2nd of Xanthicus had anything to do with March 26 we now know; and we also know from the Hemerology that in fact the seventh Asiatic month

¹ No doubt because like Ussher the chronicler writing after 600 A.D., was ignorant of any but the Syrian nomenclature for the months. In Asia the names had dropped out, and had been succeeded by numbers ('first month,' etc.), comparatively early; cf. Lightfoot, i. 677, 678. Numbers are used in the Acts of Pionius and by the Paschal Homily discussed below; but the (Asiatic) month Apellaeus occurs in Epiphanius, Haer. 51. § 24; see inf., p. 149.

³ P. 940. 18: αΙρετικοί ἀποσκιρτήσαντες φαίνονται καὶ Ἰουδαίοι ἐπαγγέλλονται πάσχα τελείν.

(Artemisius) began on March 24, exactly in accordance with the Paschal Homily. Cardinal Noris, writing on the same subject as Ussher, but like him before the publication of the Hemerology, was unable to make the latter correction, but (following Valesius) he rightly pointed out the distinction between the Syriac and the Asiatic Xanthicus, and restored St. Polycarp to February. At the same time, curiously enough, he accepts unreservedly Ussher's conclusions on the Paschal Homily, apparently oblivious that they too rested in the end entirely on the false Polycarpian basis.

The Paschal Homily ceases therefore to bear witness against us. But why may not it be put into the box in our own favour? It is so interesting in itself, and because its date can be fixed with such precision, that we propose to enter at some length into this byway of history, and to preface the enquiry by summarizing the contents of the Homily, which aims at supporting the scientific accuracy of the late Easter by a thoroughgoing exposition of the principles on which the Church calculations were based.

In the first place some were accustomed to ask why when Christmas and Epiphany 1 as well as the commemorations of the martyrs were fixed feasts, Easter alone should be moveable ? The answer is, that in the case of Easter three conditions have to be combined; the month must be the first month—that is, the first after the spring equinox; the moon must be not less than at the full—that is the fourteenth; and three days of the week, Friday, Saturday, Sunday, have to be taken into account. Even the Jews combined what they believed to be the first month with the fourteenth day of the moon for their Passover; and they are followed by the Quartodeciman 2 heresy and—so far—by the

¹ Christmas on the 8th before the Kalends of January according to the Romans, i.e. Dec. 25; Epiphany on the 13th of the fourth month according to the Asians, i.e. according to the Asiatic Kalendar, as explained above, Jan. 6. See further below.

[&]quot; For the Quartodecimans and Novatians of. Sozomen, vii.18 (p. 739, Hursey): πλήν τούτων [certain Novatians] καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς 'Ασίας καλουμένων τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατιτῶν ὁμοίως 'Ρωμαίοις καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλλων αἰρέσεων ταύτην τὴν ἐορτὴν ἀγουσιν. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐν αὐτῆ τῆ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκαταία σὺν τοῖς Τουδαίοις ἐορτάζουσιν, δθεν ιδόε ὁνομάζονται. οἱ δὲ Ναυατιανοὶ τὴν ἀναστάσιμων ἡμέραν ἐπιτελοῦσιν. Ἰουδαίοις δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔπονται καὶ εἰς ταὐτὸ τοῖς τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατίταις καταστρέφουσι. πλὴν εἰ μὴ τύχοι τῆ ιδ΄ τῆς σελήνης ἡ πρώτη τοῦ σαββάτου ἡμέρα συμπεσοῦσα, κατόπιν γίνονται τῶν Ἰουδαίων δσαις ἀν ἡμέραις συμβαίη τὴν ἐρχομένην κυριακὴν ὑστερίζειν τῆς τεσσαρεσκαιδεκαταίας τῆς σελήνης.

Novatians. The Montanists indeed reckon the fourteenth not by the lunar but by the solar month, and always take the fourteenth of the seventh (solar) Asiatic month 1; but this obviously contra-

That is, Quartodecimans kept exactly to the Jewish fourteenth, on whatever day of the week it fell. The Novatians in question, on the other hand, always observed Friday and Sunday—as the Paschal Homilist puts it, ἐπὶ τὴν τριήμερον ἐρχονται—but (1) accepted the Jewish reckoning for the ιδ'; (2) even assuming that to be correct, they made another fault, for if it fell on Sunday, they kept that as Easter Day. This does not apply to all Novatians, but to those of Galatia and Phrygia, who decided to 'Judaize' with regard to Easter the Council of Parus (Παζουκόμη in Phrygia) under Valens, i.e. circa 370 A.D. Those of Rome celebrated with the Catholic Church; and Socrates says the same of those of Constantinople and Nicomedia; cf. his parallel account, H. E. iv. 28, v. 21. A Bithynian synod of Novatians allowed either method (Soc. v. 21; Soz. vii. 18).

¹ That is, according to the Kalendar (p. 113, sup.), April 6.

Sosomen (vii. 18, quoted by Ussher) gives us similar but fuller information about the Montanist Easter. According to him, they commenced their year with the spring equinox, the beginning of creation, because the two lights, sun and moon, by which times and years are regulated, came then into being. At the end of every eight years the cycles of sun and moon will fall together at this time, eight years of the sun being equivalent to 99 lunations. Their first date they fixed on March 24, and interpreting the scriptural fourteenth of the month then begun, it would fall on a. d. viii. Id. Apr. i. e. April 6, Easter being kept on the Sunday after this day, i. e. from the 7th to the 13th of April: for Scripture says 'from the 14th to the 21st.'

- (1) Ussher, by interpolating conjecturally the words εἰ δὲ μή, interprets the last words to mean that if the 14th (April 6) coincided with the Sunday, that and not the next Sunday was the Montanist Easter.
- (2) Ussher also asserts Sozomen to be in error in fixing the 'fourteenth of the first month' on April 6 instead of April 7. It was part of his whole theory that March 25 was the first of the month, and he supposes the mention of March 24 in this passage to be a copyist's alteration, to suit the (erroneous) April 6 as the 14th; especially as the Latin Tripartite History reads a.d. viii, not a.d. ix, Kal. Apr. But we know now from the Hemerology (which was unknown to Ussher) that the Asiatic, Ephesian, and Bithynian month did begin on March 24, and that in consequence Sozomen's April 6 and the Homilist's 14th of the Asiatic seventh month are in perfect harmony. It is not the Greek of Sozomen, but the Latin of the Tripartite History which has suffered corruption, doubtless owing to the importance of the date March 25 in the West.

It would be unprofitable to attempt to explain the origin of the error of the Montanist computation. The sect was not a cultured one, and in despair it cut, instead of attempting to untie, the Gordian knot. One thing however is tolerably clear, that March 24 was taken as the starting-point of their first month because it began a month in the 'Asiatic' Kalendar.

It has been pointed out to me that Duchesne (Origines du Culte Chrétien, p. 251) comparing Hippolytus' date for the Passion, March 25, with the Western Christmas, Dec. 25, and this Montanist date for the Passion, April 6,

dicts the record of the Passion of Christ on the fourteenth of the moon at the Jewish Passover. However, they too observed the τριήμερος, the Friday, Saturday, and Sunday.

The error of the Jews was that they were not really careful to fix their first month by the equinox. The wise men of the Jews—Philo, Josephus, and others 1—had stated the true method, and some of them lived even after the time of Christ, so that doubtless Christ suffered at a Passover correctly reckoned; and, as a matter of fact, the Acts of Pilate relate that the crucifixion took place on the eighth before the Kalends of April (March 25)2. But after the Jews had rejected Christ, they took to rejecting also all their own ancient guides. The two and seventy 2 approved translators of the Scriptures were thrown over in favour of a single proselyte 4.

with the Eastern Christmas, Jan. 6, supposes that the two dates for the Passion suggested the two dates for Christmas. I should have thought the converse more likely in the Eastern case.

¹ On this anti-Jewish equinoctial controversy see Anatolius, Socrates, and the Apostolic Constitutions quoted above, p. 119. Anatolius (ap. Eus. H. E. vii. 32) names Philo, Josephus, Musaeus, and those 'even more ancient,' the two Agathobuli and Aristobulus. Sozomen (vii. 18), referring to Anatolius as 'Eusebius,' names Philo, Josephus, and Aristobulus.

² Similarly Epiphanius (Haer. 50. 1), who tells us that certain Quartodecimans did always observe March 25, τη προ διτώ καλανδών 'Απριλλίων, as the day of Christ's death, on the strength of the same Acta Pilati. He adds that he had himself found copies of the Acta which contained the 18th of March, πρό δεκάπεντε καλανδών 'Απριλλίων. The year of the Passion was originally given in the Acta as the 15th of Tiberius (A.D. 28-29) in accordance with the earliest Christian tradition (for I feel no doubt, in spite of the arguments of Lipsius' Pilatus-Acten, that the alternative dates, 18th or 19th Tiberius, are alterations due to the influence of the Chronicle of Eusebius, who set the fashion for subsequent writers), and it is an extraordinarily striking coincidence that if the Crucifixion did take place in the year A. D. 29, the day must beyond question have been March 18, as pointed out in Browne's Ordo Saeclorum. Meanwhile the 18th of March was altered to that day week, March 25, probably under the influence of the Chronicle of Hippolytus, in which this was the day given for the Passion, and also because March 18 would soon be looked on as an inadmissible day, through its falling before the equinox.

³ 72 is given by the Letter of Aristeas, by Tertullian (Apol. 18), and by Epiphanius (de Pond. et Mens. iii-vi); 70 by Irenaeus (iii. 21), by Anatolius (Eus. H. E. vii. 32), by Jerome, and by Augustine.

⁴ That is, Aquila. Irenaeus indeed (iii. 21) calls both Theodotion and Aquila proselytes, but there can be no doubt which is meant here, for it was Aquila's translation which because of its superior literalness came into favour with the Jews, while Christian writers believed that Aquila and the Jews who followed him were animated by anti-Christian bias in their attempt to supersede a translation which favoured, and was favoured by, the Christian Church.

The equinoctial rule, though a tradition of Moses himself, was neglected, and now the Jewish Passover fell indifferently before or after, but on the present occasion (els 7è enervès) before, the equinox.

Now what was the mystical fitness of the date at which Christ suffered?

That the equinox should mark the commencement of the first month is clear, if we think of the original creation of the world, for the first day and night would naturally have been equal: and it must have been the spring equinox, for the creation of flowers and trees and plants, symbols of spring, immediately followed. And so Scripture says that God divided equally the light and the darkness; ανα μέσον τοῦ φωτός καὶ ανα μέσον τοῦ σκότους. Then after the equinox on the fourth day, God created the sun and the moon—at the full; on the sixth day, man; on the seventh He rested; and on the eighth, which is the first again, He suffered the now perfect universe to start on its course. So when man, created though he was in the image of God, had fallen from his high estate, and the Only-begotten Son had come to earth to restore him, He employs for redemption the same portion and period of time He had before chosen and used for creation, that the end might be harmonious with the beginning. Consequently the week of the Passion—the fulness of the times, the recapitulation of all things-must combine, just as the week of creation had done, the equinox, the full moon, and the sixth day or Friday specially devoted to man. But a week whose commencement on Sunday coincides with the equinox and contains the full moon, is an infrequent occurrence; we read therefore in the Gospels that though the Jews had long sought Him, He had evaded them, until 'His hour was come,' and then He willingly suffered. After the equinox, when the light began to gain ground on and to master the darkness, but not later than the first Friday after, on which too He had created man, He suffered; and on the Sabbath again, after the completion of His work, He rested.

But all these different data obviously cannot converge every year. They were necessarily observed in the one great Pascha, but just as that one sacrifice needs no repetition but only an imitation $(\mu i \mu \eta \mu a)$ in the Eucharist, so in our Pascha we need only imitate the season as far as lies in our power, combining the equinox, the fourteenth of the moon, and the three days' celebration. Avoiding the ignorance of Jews and heretics, we find the equinox, we look

for the next full moon, and so for the Preparation, Sabbath and Lord's Day 1.

Further, the Lord fulfilled exactly the law of Moses, that on the fourteenth day between the evenings the lamb should be slaughtered: for 'between the evenings' will be at the ninth hour, as learned Jews fix it, and at the ninth hour Jesus, the Lamb of God, gave up the ghost ². Again, the darkness at the crucifixion was not without its special meaning. To the Jews it recalled the prophecies of Zechariah and Amos, that it should be neither day nor night, and at eventide it should be light; that the sun should go down at midday; if the prophet added that their feasts should be turned to grief, this was actually the case, we learn from history, at the siege of Jerusalem ³. By the Gentiles, the miracle of the darkness could not be explained away with Greek artifice as an eclipse, for the moon at the Passover is at the full: and by celebrating the Pascha yearly at full moon, we have a yearly reminder of the miracle for all ages and all men ⁴.

- ¹ Cf. Epiphanius, Haer. 50. 3: διδ παρατηρούμεθα μέν τὴν τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτην, ὑπερβαίνομεν δὲ τὴν ἰσημερίαν, φέρομεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγίαν κυριακὴν τὸ τέλος τῆς συμπληρώσεως.
- 3 Therefore the Homilist follows the 'Johannine' view that our Lord ate only an anticipatory Passover and suffered on the 14th Nisan. This is in accordance with the almost unanimous view of early writers (Apollinaris, Clement of Alexandria, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Hippolytus; see Westcott, Introduction to Gospels, p. 347), but in disagreement with an equally strong consensus later the other way. Even at the earliest possible date for our Homily, St. Chrysostom (a fact quite sufficient to disprove his authorship) and St. Ambrose (see his epistle, inf. p. 147), hold to the fifteenth; similarly Proterius of Alexandria, in his letter to Leo of Rome about the Easter of a.D. 455; and though the Paschal Chronicle, built up seemingly out of earlier materials, witnesses to a survival of the older opinion, yet in the ninth century Photius, impressed as he is with the evidence of two early writers, still speaks of them as varying from 'the Church' (Cod. 115, 116, fin., καὶ σκοπεῖν χρή. δ γὰρ Χρυσόστομος καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία τότε φησίν αὐτὸν ἐπιτελέσαι τὸ νομικὸν πρὸ τοῦ μυστικοῦ δείπνου).
- The Homilist adds, διετή χρόνον δ πόλεμος κατά τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐπὶ πένθη ἀνάλωσε, p. 947. 24.
- ⁴ This was the argument of Julius Africanus, early in the 3rd century, (Chronicon fragm. ap. Routh, R. S. ii. 297), τοῦτο τὸ σκότος ἐκλειψιν τοῦ ἡλίου Θάλλος ἀποκαλεῖ ἐν τρίτφ τῶν ἰστοριῶν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ ἀλόγως (he explains about the full moon)... ἡν σκότος θεοποίητον διότι τὸν Κύριον συνέβη παθεῖν. Origen, who had himself explained the darkness as an eclipse (σ. Celeum, ii. 33), in his Commentary on St. Matthew, adopted Africanus' view; cf. Routh, l, c, p. 479, Γνα γὰρ μὴ είπωσιν ἔκλειψιν εἶναι τὸ γεγεννημένον, διὰ τοῦτο τῆ ιδ' γίνεται, ὅτε ἔκλειψιν συμβῆναι ἀμήχανον. But Eusebius (followed by Jerome, and as usual by the later chronologers) still called the darkness an eclipse, identifying

Now to apply these investigations to the fixing of the current feast. Twelve full moons after the last Easter we naturally expect the next to fall. But if the twelfth falls before the equinox, we must intercalate a thirteenth lunar month in order to get to a full moon after the equinox. Thus, in the present year, the twelfth full moon or fourteenth of the twelfth month falls two days before the equinox, and we must look for the next full moon for our Pascha. We have thus settled two of the conditions, the equinox and the full moon; we have still to find the Sunday. Now the postponed fourteenth will itself fall on a Sunday, and therefore to get our three days, Friday, Saturday, Sunday, we must again defer Easter for a week, or the festival of the resurrection would fall on the 14th, which is the date of the Passion.

Of the two full moons under discussion, the first falls, as we said, two days before the equinox²; the second on the 26th day of the seventh month, and Easter exactly a week later on the second day of the eighth month³.

it with one mentioned by the historian Phlegon under A. D. 32, which thenceforward became the usual year to which the crucifixion was assigned (see Lipsius, *Pilatus-Actes*, p. 23 ff.).

¹ Since twelve lunations (at 29½ days each) amount to only about 354 days, there is a defect of rather more than 11 days on the total as compared with the solar year. This defect goes on increasing, and when it would bring a thirteenth full moon before the spring equinox, a thirteenth or intercalary month is added to the old year.

² πρὸ δύο ἡμερῶν τῆς lσημερίας—'the day before,' I suppose; on the analogy of phrases like τῆ τρίτη for 'the day before yesterday' (Field on Matt. xvi. 12 Otium Norvicense, Pars Tertia, p. 7) and Latin 'ante diem tertium.'

The cycle of Hippolytus (A. D. 222) had placed the equinox on March 18, and this reckoning prevailed in Rome till the fifth century; but the cycle of Anatolius (A.D. 277) advanced it to March 19, and the Alexandrian modification of the latter cycle, prevalent in the fourth century throughout the East, placed it later still, on March 21 (Hefele, Councils, E. T. i. p. 320). Our Homilist argued above that the crucifixion on March 25 corresponded to the Friday or sixth day of Creation week; the division of light and darkness, that is the equinox, would then have taken place on the first day of the same week, March 20. But I doubt whether he really intended to differ from the Alexandrine computation in practice: he would, I believe, have agreed that the 21st March was the first legal day for the 18, and the 22nd for Easter Day. In any case the full moon meant must have fallen on March 19 or 20, for the next fell on the 26th day of the seventh month, which on the principles of the Asiatic Kalendar (the month beginning a. d. ix Kal. Apr., i. e. March 24, and being like April a month of 30 days not repeating its first) would be the 18th of April.

³ The eighth Asiatic month begins a.d. ix Kal. Mai., April 23, and being, like May, of 31 days, it repeats its first; the second will therefore fall on April 25.

If it was argued that Easter never had fallen so late as it was now proposed to hold it, proof against this statement could be brought by witnesses of good memory (μνήμονες μάρτυρες). How often in the past do you suppose it has been said, 'It has never been the case' (οὐδέποτε γίγονε) and yet science prevails? Moreover the objectors admit that Easter has often fallen as late as the 29th day of the seventh month¹, and the difference between us is therefore narrowed down to three or four days, which they shrink from yielding to the claims of science. And if it was simply a matter of prejudice against variations in the date of Easter, why there was variation between every two successive celebrations. In the current and three following years Easter would fall (i) on the 2nd of the eighth month, (ii) then on the 17th of the seventh month, (iii) then on the 9th of the seventh month, (iv) lastly on the 29th of the seventh month².

And such variations are all direct consequences of the two rules of the full moon after the equinox and the Sunday after the full moon. As to the latter point, if the full moon or 14th falls in the middle ($\pi\lambda \acute{a}ros$) of the week, the matter is simple, the next Sunday is Easter; but if it falls about the Sunday, then great caution is necessary. For instance, in the present case, careless calculators tried to make out that the fourteenth of the moon fell on the Saturday [i.e. April 17] and that therefore the next day was Easter Sunday³. But they were quite mistaken; even impartial and in-

¹ That is, April 21. Cp. the preface to the Festal Letters of St. Athanasius (quoted in Hefele, ii. 159), 'the Romans stated that they possessed a tradition, as ancient as the time of St. Peter, that they were not to go beyond the 21st of April:' and cf. the Epistle of St. Ambrose, inf. p. 148. Our Homilist cannot mean that any living witnesses could testify to an Easter on April 25: for according to Usaher (l. c. p. 1228) between a. D. 140 and 919, Easter fell on that day only four times, A. D. 387, 482, 577, 672; and a period of 95 years is more than any memory could embrace. What he undoubtedly does mean is that while the objectors opposed April 25 on the ground that April 21 was the last possible day for Easter, fairly modern instances could be quoted where this limit had been overpassed, i. e. where Easter had been held on April 22, 23, or 24.

² That is, by the Asiatic Kalendar, April 25, April 9, April 1, April 21.

³ Consequently, if the 14th had fallen on Saturday, the next day would have been admitted to be Easter Sunday, even though this made the commemoration of the Passion fall on the 13th. All that was contended for was that the feast of the Sunday should fall clear of the fast of the 14th. This was the principle of the Alexandrine cycle; but Hippolytus and Anatolius (and the Roman Church still in the fourth century) would have put off Easter for a week, even if the Saturday had fallen on the 65.

telligent pagans (σοφοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων) could tell them that as a matter of fact the fourteenth coincided with the Sunday and the night after it, almost into the following Monday, and not near the Saturday at all; so that quite obviously Easter must be postponed for another week.

Facts must be faced; disputes must be put aside; the mind must be clear for the right observation of the seven weeks of Lent, the first of which, according to the true calculation of Easter, was now just about to begin ¹.

Such is a tolerably ample analysis of the Homily on which Archbishop Ussher's leap-year theory rests, and it is obvious at once that it contains sufficient marks of time—in particular the dates of four successive Easters—to aid us in a secure reconstruction of its kalendar even for leap-year. It is now proposed to treat in order (1) of the locality of the Homily, (2) of the rough date of the Homily, (3) of the kalendar employed and the year which it suggests, (4) of other special evidence pointing to the same date.

(t) The presumption raised by two mentions of Asiatic months only comes in to reinforce a conclusion which could be safely drawn even without it. The seven weeks' Lenten fast excludes—at least on the fifth-century evidence of the historians Socrates and Sozomen—Illyria, Greece, Egypt and Palestine; while it would fall in with any part of the country from Constantinople round to Phoenicia. The mention of certain heretics in connection with erroneous Paschal observances (notes on pp. 132, 133) narrows the field still further. The Quartodecimans are called by Socrates

For these seven weeks of Lent cf. Sozomen, vii. 19 (p. 743, Hussey), of μèν els ἐξ ἐβδομάδας ἡμερῶν λογίζονται, ὡς Ἰλλύριοι καὶ οἱ πρὸς δύσιν, Λιβύη τε πᾶσα καὶ Λίγυπτος σὺν τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις: οἱ δὲ ἐπτὰ ὡς ἐν Κανσταντινουπόλει καὶ τοῖς περἰξ ἔθνεσι μεχρὶ Φοινίκαν: ἄλλοι δὲ τρεῖς σποραδὴν ἐν ταῖς ἔξ ἡ ἐπτὰ νηστεύουσιν: οἱ δὲ ἄμα τρεῖς πρὸ τῆς ἐορτῆς συνάπτουσιν: οἱ δὲ δύο ὡς οἱ τὰ Μοντάνου φρονοῦντες. In the parallel passage of Socrates (H. E. v. 22, p. 240, Bright), I believe the historian's meaning to be that those whom he does not specify fasted for seven weeks, his point being that many people who fasted less than do days yet called Lent τεσσαρακοστή, which, strictly speaking, only those who fasted seven weeks continuously had a right to do. He has only therefore to mention the exceptions to this latter rule.

¹ No doubt the Paschal quarrel with which our Homilist is concerned was excited in his Church by a dispute whether Lent should not have begun before.

(v. 22), and by Sozomen (vii. 18) of èν 'Ασία, of èwì τῆs 'Ασίας. The Novatians were powerful in Constantinople, the Hellespont, Phrygia, Paphlagonia and Galatia; but the erroneous Pascha blamed by the Homilist was adopted not by the Novatians of Rome or even those of Constantinople and Nicomedia, but by those of Phrygia and Galatia only. And lastly the Montanists, as we know and as their alternative titles of Πεπουζέται and Φρύγες (Soz. vii. 18) clearly show, were always a distinctively Phrygian sect. Our Homilist then certainly wrote in Asia Minor, and probably somewhere not far removed from Phrygia.

(2) From evidence of place we pass to evidence of similar sort for time; and here again the various sects and religions with which the Church, according to the Homily, has to deal, will first come under review 1. Of Montanism as still flourishing in Phrygia we hear in the laws of Constantine, in the council of Laodicea, and in St. Basil in the fourth century, and in the Theodosian code and the historian Sozomen during the first half of the fifth; but in the middle of the sixth century it appears to have been finally exterminated by the persecution of Justinian. Similarly the Novatians of Asia Minor were in the fourth and fifth centuries numerous and influential, as we learn from Epiphanius, Basil, and Socrates; but after the fifth century not much is heard of them. In particular the judaizing Novatians, with whom alone our Homily deals, seem after A.D. 450 to have finally coalesced with Montanism. Judaism is introduced in the Homily mainly in connection with the relation of the equinox to the Passover, a form of dispute especially characteristic of the third and fourth centuries, for it appears in Anatolius of Laodicea, at the Council of Nicaea, in the Apostolic Constitutions and in St. Ambrose. One would not imagine that references to it would be frequent later; and with every century the intercourse even of heretical Christianity with Judaism must have been growing appreciably smaller. Lastly Pagans (Ellayres) are even in Asia Minor still a force which must be taken into account. Our Homilist had just been preaching against both Jews and Pagans. The annual memory of the miraculous darkness of the crucifixion is an annual rebuke to Pagan unbelief. And scientific Pagans are quoted as admitting the accuracy of the astronomical calculations of the Church for Easter. All this

¹ For the summaries on this and the following pages I am largely indebted to various articles in the Dictionaries of Christian Biography and Antiquities.

is not surprising in the fourth century; it becomes stranger for the fifth, and it would be almost incredible later.

The Gospel chronology again shows an independence of Eusebius, which suggests a date not later than 400 A.D., after which time there were few writers who, like Epiphanius and our Homilist, were uninfluenced by the *Chronicle*. For instance, the crucifixion is placed on Nisan 14 in common with a catena of primitive fathers, but against the view of Ambrose, Chrysostom, Proterius, and the later centuries. The 25th of March is given (after the Acts of Pilate) for the crucifixion with Hippolytus, Tertullian, and Augustine. The darkness of the crucifixion is explained with Africanus and Origen as a miracle, and not with Eusebius, Malala, and the Paschal Chronicle as Phlegon's eclipse.

Finally an argument may be drawn from the fact that Christmas, Epiphany, and the commemorations of martyrs are mentioned as the feasts kept at that time in the Church on fixed days. For the saints' days parallels may be found at least as early as a Gothic fragment of the fourth century, the Syriac Kalendar in the great MS. dated A. D. 411, or the Roman lists traceable to the fourth and fifth centuries. Of the fixed feasts commemorative of the Gospel history, Christmas and Epiphany are also the two mentioned in the Apostolic Constitutions (v. 13), while the Paschal Chronicle, for instance, in the seventh century has the Purification, the Annunciation and the Nativity of St. John Baptist; and of these three the first at least was instituted by the Emperor not later than about A. D. 540.

On the other hand it might perhaps be urged that the commemoration of the Nativity on Dec. 25 rather than on Jan. 6, is for the East an innovation which points to a date later than Chrysostom, who in an Antiochene Homily thought to have been delivered in A. D. 386 speaks of the transference of the festival as introduced from the West less than ten years before. But (i) our Homily is not earlier, as will be seen, than A. D. 387: (ii) the change at Antioch may have taken place later than in other parts of the East; the Apostolic Constitutions give Dec. 25, and they are apparently earlier than Chrysostom: (iii) it is not unreasonable to conjecture that when our Homilist in the same context defines Christmas by a Roman, and Epiphany by an Asiatic date (κατὰ Ῥωμαίους, κατ' ᾿Ασιανούς) that the former feast somehow connected itself in his

mind with the West, in which case he must have lived before the origin of the December celebration was forgotten. Not even here then have we any evidence tending to suggest a date later than the fourth century for our Homily.

(3) Now if an Asiatic writer use once a Roman method of dating (and this, as we have just seen, perhaps from a special reason) for Christmas-day, but an Asiatic method (κατ' 'Ασιανούς) twice, for Epiphany and for the Montanist Easter, we shall conclude that his normal Kalendar was the Asiatic, and shall turn to it for help when we find him giving dates for several successive Easters on what is at any rate not a Roman reckoning; and we shall not be surprised that the characteristic features of the 'Asiatic' Kalendars of the Hemerology are faithfully reproduced in the Homily. The Montanist fourteenth for the Pascha was reckoned on the fourteenth of the seventh Asiatic month; the Hemerology commences the seventh month on a. d. ix Kal. Apr. (March 24), and as a month of 30 days does not repeat its first, and thus its 14th will fall on April 6th, a. d. viii Id. Apr., exactly the Roman date as given by Sozomen in the same connexion. The Epiphany festival of the Church was on the 13th of the fourth Asiatic month, which beginning on a. d. ix Kal. Jan. (Dec. 24), and as a month of 31 days repeating its first, brings us to January 6, the well-known festival of the Eastern Church 1, as

¹ Jan. 6 for the Epiphany, e.g. in Apost. Const. v. 13, ή ἐπιφάνιος . . . γινέσθω . . . έκτη τοῦ δεκάτου μηνός; in the Kalendarium Karthaginense (Ruinart, Acta Sincera, p. 634), viii Idus Jan. sanctum Epefania. It is true that we do find allusions to Jan. 5, instead of Jan. 6, and it might therefore be argued that this is possibly the day intended here, the Asiatics having by this time dropped the repetition of the first day in months of 31 days. But such allusions all belong to times or places where in accordance with the earliest custom the Epiphany was celebrated in conjunction with the feast of the Nativity; and the latter was commemorated at night; cf. the 'Constitutions of the Alexandrian Church' (Dict. Chr. Ant. i, p. 359), 'in die autem Nativitatis et Epiphaniae . . . ut noctu missa celebretur'; and so Cosmas Indicopleustes (c. A. D. 550) can even say that all Christians concur in celebrating the Nativity on (Choeac 28 =) Dec. 24. Similarly Stephen Gobar (Photius, cod. 232) in his list of disputed questions names the two dates for the Nativity, one of which is Ίανουαρίω έ κατά το μέσον της νυκτός ήτις έστί πρό ὀκτὰ ἐιδῶν Ἰανουαρίων, i. e. Jan. 5 and 6. Thus so far as Epiphanius (Haer. 51. 24) speaks of the 5th of January, it is to be noticed (i) that he is speaking of the Nativity only; the Baptism he placed on Nov. 8; (ii) that he explains the date πέμπτη Ίανουαρίου ἐσπέρα είς ἕκτην ἐπιφώσκουσα, and as πρὸ δικτώ είδων = Jan. 6; (iii) that the Egyptian, Greek, Paphian, and Arabic equivalents given in the same passage are shown by the Hemerology to apply only to Jan. 6. And similarly the Armenian Church, combining in one the its 14th. Thirdly, the Paschal full moon of the year in which the Homily was delivered fell on the 26th day of the seventh month, while the second day of the eighth month was exactly a week later. But the seventh Asiatic month commenced on a. d. ix Kal. Apr. (March 24), and the eighth on a. d. ix Kal. Mai. (April 23); the 26th day of the seventh month (one of 30 days only) falls on April 18, and therefore that day week is April 25. But if the eighth month began on April 23, and the 2nd of it fell on the 25th, the repetition of the first in months of 31 days must still have formed an integral part of the Asiatic system.

Now however the possibility must be taken into account that the year of the Homily was a leap-year, and the intercalation of the extra day was not made in Asia till at any rate after April. If this were so, as each Asiatic day would be equivalent to one (Roman) day earlier than usual, the two dates of the Homily would become April 17 and April 24. We should then have to find a year in which, on the Alexandrine cycle, the following conditions were satisfied:—(a) full moon on April 17; (b) Easter a week later on April 24; (c) the year ex hypothesi a leap-year.

Taking as our guide the Paschal table of Dionysius Exiguus (Migne, Patrologia Latina, vol. 67, p. 493), who first introduced Alexandrian calculations in a scientific form to the West, we have there given full moons and Easters from A.D. 513 to 626, those from A.D. 532 to 626 forming a complete set of 95 years ¹. Now the selection of 95 years as the cycle was prompted by the desire to find a term of years after which (1) 95 being a multiple of 19, and

commemoration of the Annunciation, Nativity, and Epiphany, commenced with the Annunciation on the evening of Jan. 5, and so apparently proceeded to the Nativity and Epiphany (D. Chr. Ant. st sup.). But our Homilist, unlike this, distinguished between the Nativity on Dec. 25, and the Epiphany on Jan. 6.

It is true that St. Jerome explains the date of the prophecy of Ezekiel i. 'in the thirteenth year, in the fourth month, on the fifth day of the month,' as foreshadowing Christ's Baptism in His thirtieth year, on the fifth day of the fourth (Eastern) month. But this is a forced application of a prophecy; and moreover St. Jerome was writing in Palestine, where the joint celebration of the two feasts had not yet been superseded (Duchesne, p. 248), so that the 5th would still form part of the feast. In fact his strong disclaimer, at this very point, of the union of the two, almost suggests that he is borrowing his interpretation from some previous writer who had interpreted the prophetic date of both Nativity and Epiphany. (See his Commentary is loc. quoted by Ussher, p. 1216.)

¹ No doubt there exists a list of all occasions on which Easter has been held; and if I had known where to find it, I might have spared myself the calculations from this point for a page onwards.

the Alexandrine lunar cycle being of 19 years, the full moons would recur on the same days of the month; (2) those days of the month too would fall usually on the same days of the week, and in any case not more than one day apart; for in 95 years we have (after the 52 weeks in each year) 95 extra days, and 23 or 24 leap-years each with a further day; in all 118 or 119 days; and as the chances are three to one that in 95 years there will be 24 leapyears, they are also three to one in favour of the larger number 119 days, or exactly seventeen weeks. Thus after 95 years, three times out of four, the full moon falling not only on the same day of the month but on the same day of the week, Easter, too, will fall the same number of days after it, that is, also on the same day of the month. Now if we want to find all possible Easters, say between A.D. 325 and 700, which fell on April 24, we turn to a cycle of 95 years and look for all Easters on that day or on one day each way-April 23, 24, 25-secure that further variation is impossible. In Dionysius' cycle there are only four such Easters. In A. D. 539 Easter fell on April 24; therefore on the same or next day in A. D. 349, 444, 634. In A. D. 550 again on April 24; so A.D. 360, 455, 645. In A.D. 577 on April 25: compare A. D. 387, 482, 672. In A. D. 607 on April 23; compare A. D. 417, 512. But of all these occasions only the four italicized years were leap-years; and all others are ex hypothesi excluded. Hence only A. D. 360, 444, 512, 672 can come into account. Now in A. D. 360 Easter fell on April 23, according to the Festal Letter of St. Athanasius for that year (see tables in Larsow's edition). In A. D. 444 it fell again on the same day, as stated by Proterius of Alexandria in his letter to Leo of Rome eleven years later (Migne, vol. 67, p. 510). In A. D. 512 it must have fallen on April 22; for the cycle of Dionysius commences in the next year with an Easter Sunday on April 7. And in A. D. 672 it certainly fell on April 25; see Ussher inf. There is therefore no single year which fulfils the conditions of Easter Sunday on April 24 in leap-year; and we may confidently conclude that even if the leap-year day was intercalated after April, at least the year of our Homilist was not leap-year, and in that case the normal equivalents between the Asiatic and Julian Kalendars must hold. The full moon of the Homilist can only have fallen on April 18, and his Easter Day on April 25.

But Ussher gives only four occasions between A. D. 140 and 919 on which Easter Sunday fell on the 25th of April, namely, the years A. D. 387, 482, 577, 672. We will now put side by side our Homilist's four Easter dates in his own Asiatic months; then the ordinary equivalents of these in Roman months; and lastly the four sets of Easters (taken from Ussher, l.c. p. 1229) to one of which the Homily must certainly apply—

and day of 8th month	April 25	A. D. 387. 482. 577. 672.	April 25 April 25 April 25 April 25
17th day of 7th month	April 9		April 9 April 10 April 10 April 10
9th day of 7th month	April 1	389. 484. 579. 674.	April 1 April 1 April 2 April 2
29th day of 7th month	April 21	390. 485. 580. 675.	April 21 April 21 April 21 April 22

Now of the four dates given in the Homily three must of course be reckoned by the ordinary Roman equivalents, for leap-year can only affect one in four. But no less than three of the four refuse to tally with the quartet A. D. 672-675, and two with the quartet A. D. 577-580. In the third set A. D. 482-485, only one year, it is true, differs; but this one, A.D. 483, is not leap-year. We conclude that the four years of the Homily must be the remaining quartet, A. D. 387-390, and here the correspondence is exact. Even in A. D. 388, the leap-year of the four, the Asiatic and Julian equivalents are for April 9 the same as in ordinary years; and consequently the Asiatic leap-year intercalation must have been made before the month in which this day occurs.

(4) It is strictly speaking superfluous, but at the same time it will add interest to the discussion and cogency to the conclusion if finally, as the coping-stone of the present argument, we can show that our Homily, now dated independently at A.D. 387, does in fact fit admirably into the historical conditions of that year and of the Paschal disputes which marked it. Till that year, Easter had not fallen as late as April 25 since the sub-Apostolic age, and it would preeminently be such a first occasion which would excite the opposition and alarm depicted in our Homily; while

VOL. II.

before Easter fell again so late (A. D. 482) Alexandrine calculations were accepted as a matter of course in the East, and even at Rome they were largely introduced by Victorius about the middle of the fifth century, and fully by Dionysius Exiguus in the first half of the sixth. Again, appeal is made, as we said, to 'witnesses of good memory' for Easter falling after the 21st, while objectors admit Easter on the 21st but nothing more. Now Easter as a matter of fact had fallen on April 21 only eight years before, in A. D. 379; but before April 21, it had only fallen twice within sixty years—in A. D. 349 on April 23, and in A. D. 360 on the same day—and on the first of these occasions the Alexandrines, Athanasius being then on intimate terms with the Westerns and especially with the Roman See, yielded to the Roman earlier computation 1. One instance within living memory, and that twentyseven years before, would satisfy the contradictory assertions hazarded on the two sides.

Further we do know that in A.D. 387 the unusual lateness of the Alexandrine Easter aroused keen discussion, in which the Emperor Theodosius, with the view of reconciling the West to the Eastern practice, intervened. There is still extant the preface of a document addressed to him by Theophilus of Alexandria, whom he had consulted, as well as a circular letter which St. Ambrose from the same point of view directed to the bishops of Emilia.

Theophilus writes that according to the Old Testament the month of the Passover was to be the first month or month of new year's produce (μὴν τῶν νέων) when the crops were full-grown; and the day to be the 14th, that is full moon, for the Jewish month, unlike the ancient Egyptian but like the Greek, was lunar. This month itself should be fixed after the equinox, which falls on the 25th Phamenoth, 21st of March, or according to the 'Syrians, Antiochenes, and Macedonians' 21st of Dystrus; if the previous (twelfth) month were to be taken, it would be found that the crops were not ready to cut. But when, the month being rightly fixed, its 14th falls on Sunday, Easter must be put off a week; for we may neither end our fast on the 13th nor yet fast on the Sunday—a thing no one would do but a Manichee 3—while

¹ Cf. Hefele, Councile, E. T. ii. 159. The Easters during the Episcopate of Athanasius (A. D. 328-373) are given in Larsow's edition of the Festal Letters, 47.

2 Ap. Gallandi, vii. 614.

^{*} Μανιχαίων γάρ ίδιον πράγμα το τοιούτον.

on the contrary, as the Lord was crucified on the 14th¹, and therefore the Resurrection fell after it then, so may its Paschal commemoration now. As to objections on the score of lateness (of April 25), why the Law itself says, if you cannot keep the Passover in the first month, do so in the second; in any case therefore it is better to have Easter too late than too early.

St. Ambrose is addressing the bishops of Emilia, after the bishops of Rome and Alexandria had expressed their opinion, and apparently with Theophilus' epistle in his hands'. fathers, he says, had instituted a nineteen years' cycle (after which the same dates for full moons were to recur) in order to secure unanimity about the night on which the 'sacrifice for the Lord's Resurrection' was to be offered's. We are to note the first month or month of new crops, and the 14th of the month; for Christ, coming to fulfil the Law of Moses, kept the Passover on the 14th (Thursday), being crucified on the 15th, and rising from the dead on the 17th. Thus the 14th as preceding the Passion, and therefore a fast, cannot be Easter day, which if the 14th is a Sunday - 'sicut futurum est proxime' - will fall a week later, and in this case will be kept on the 25th, not on the 18th, of April. to quote recent practice, in A. D. 373 the 14th of the moon fell on March 24, and Easter a week later; in A. D. 377 the 14th was on April 9, and again Easter on the 16th.

But then, continues Ambrose, the objection is made that if

¹ Τŷ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκαταίφ in the Greek: but the Latin 'decimaquinta,' cf. Ambrose inf. and note 2 on p. 136.

³ Ambrosii Opera (Venice, 1751), iii. pp. 935-943. 'Post Aegyptiorum supputationes et Alexandrinae Ecclesiae definitores, Episcopi quoque Romanae ecclesiae, per litteras plerique meam adhuc expectant sententiam'; elsewhere again, 'Alexandrini quoque et Aegyptii, ut ipsi scripserunt.' Further, he not only employs the Egyptian names of months, but presents actual coincidences with Theophilus' preface just mentioned, in the 'mensis novorum' and the reference to the Manichees.

On the important position held by the see of Milan at the end of the fourth century, see Duchesne, pp. 32-39.

If the Gentiles observe days—'quintam esse fugiendam,' 'posteros dies vel Aegyptiacos declinare'—they do it for superstitious motives; we in order that 'consona sacrae noctis fundatur oratio.'

⁴ St. Ambrose dates the years here by the era of Diocletian, the 89th and the 93rd. This era, specially made for Egypt, and continuously in use in the Coptic Church as the 'era of martyrs,' is reckoned from A. D. 284, the year of Diocletian's accession, and as the Egyptian year commenced on August 29, the 89th and 93rd year of the era will refer to the Easters not of A. D. 372 and 376, but of A. D. 373 and 377. Even the months Phamenoth and Pharmuthi are given as well as the Roman reckoning.

Easter is kept as late as April 25, the rule of the 'first month' is not observed. We answer—

- (1) Since the full moon can obviously fall anywhere within the first solar month, if it falls quite at the end, then Easter, unless kept on the actual 14th, must fall in the next month.
- (2) In the present case it is the Jews who will not observe the first month; for their Passover is to be on March 20, which belongs to the 12th month and not to the 1st¹, whether you reckon the latter as the post-equinoctial month of 31 days, from March 22 to April 21, or the Egyptian month Pharmuthi, of 30 days, from March 27 to April 25.
- (3) But in reality, as scholars of the Jewish law know well, this first month is lunar; and if the first full moon after the equinox falls (as in A. D. 387) on April 18 the first new moon will fall on April 5, the nones of April 2, and the second therefore about the nones of May, so that April 25 falls well before it.

Moreover only two years ago Easter was celebrated as late as the 11th before the Kalends of May, the 30th of the (postequinoctial) month³, and the few extra days between that day and the 25th of April now proposed, ought not to be a real stumblingblock.

It is sufficiently obvious that the arguments of St. Ambrose and of Theophilus are in the main identical with those employed by our Homilist, and there can be no reasonable doubt that the three

- ¹ In Milan, the eighth month, 'octavus secundum consuetudinem nostram, indictio enim Septembri mense incipit, octavo igitur mense Kalendae Apriles sunt.'
- ³ Such seems to be the meaning of the words 'cum a pluribus nonis lunae cursus incipiat, hoc est, dies primus, vides nonas Maii adhuc ad mensem primum novorum computari posse'; where for 'a pluribus nonis' I suspect we should read 'Aprilibus Nonis.'
- 3 'Ante biennium celebraverimus paschae Dominicam undecimo Kalendas Maii, hoc est, trigesimo die mensis secundum nostram scilicet calculationem.' These figures do not seem to tally; a.d. xi Kal. Mai. is April 21, but the 30th of a month commencing on March 22 would be April 20: so for 'trigesimo' we ought perhaps to restore 'triges[imo pr]imo.' If April 21 is thus correct, the nearest year given in the tables in which Easter fell on that day is A.D. 379; and as on the other hand it seems probable (e.g. from the repeated use of 'proxime') that the letter was not written very long before the Easter of A.D. 387, it has been proposed to read 'ante vi ennium' (i.e. sexennium) for 'ante biennium.' [I do not know whether it is possible that in A.D. 384 the full moon which fell about March 21 may have been reckoned in Milan as before the equinox, so that the Paschal moon would fall about April 19, and Easter day, instead of on March 24, on April 21.]

writers refer to the same occasion. By concurrent but independent lines of argument it has therefore been established that the four Easters of the Homily are those from A. D. 387 to 390; and if so, then (as we have seen) the date given for the leap-year Easter of A. D. 388 shows that the intercalation was made before Easter and before the month beginning on March 24. It was already argued in the main body of this Essay (p. 122, sup.), that the intercalation probably did take place in the sixth Asiatic month (Feb. 21 to March 23) in Asia as in Rome. So far therefore from demonstrating an alternative theory to be correct, the Paschal Homily is absolutely consistent, so far as it goes, with the theory of intercalation on which this Essay is based 1.

APPENDIX II.

PASSAGES FROM ANCIENT WRITERS WHO EMPLOY KALENDARS OF THE ASIATIC TYPE, GIVING SIDE BY SIDE A ROMAN AND A NATIVE DATING.

[C. H. T.]

DR. LIGHTFOOT has quoted (Ignatius i. 665) four inscriptions which give side by side the two methods of dating. For completeness' sake I have put together here the few instances which are quoted by Archbishop Ussher from ancient writers.

- 1. Epiphanius, Haeres. 51. § 24. The Baptism of Christ, κατ' Αλγυπτίους 'Αθύρ δωδεκάτη πρὸ ἐξ εἰδῶν Νοεμβρίων, κατὰ Έλληνας Δίου όγδόη.... κατὰ Παφίους 'Απογονικοῦ ἐκκαιδεκάτη... κατὰ Μακεδόνας 'Απελλαίου ἐκκαιδεκάτη.
- ¹ Of course (I repeat what I have said before) the correctness of this theory of intercalation does not prove that St. Polycarp suffered in A.D. 156 and not in A.D. 155. That he did suffer in the later year is made possible by it, and the possible becomes probable, if once the identification of the 'high sabbath' with the Purim feast is admitted.



150 Passages from Ancient Writers

Here the date intended is of course Nov. 8, and the Asiatic or, as Epiphanius here calls it, the 'Macedonian' date, Apellaeus 16, is correctly given according to the Hemerology; for Apellaeus commences a.d. ix Kal. Nov. (Oct. 24) and does not repeat its first. But a second kalendar on the Asiatic model was the Cyprian, as the Hemerology calls it, or as Epiphanius calls it (to distinguish it from the Kalendar of Salamis) the Paphian; and the Paphian date is again correctly given as Apogonicus 16.

- 2. Epiphanius, ib. The Birth of Christ, πρὸ ὀκτῶ εἰδῶν Ἰανουαρίων . . . κατ' Αἰγυπτίους Τυβὶ ἐνδεκάτη, κατὰ Σύρους εἶτ' οὖν Ἑλληνας Αὐδυναίου ἔκτη κατὰ Παφίους Ἰουλίου τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη. The date meant is January 6, and the 'Asiatic' date is not among the parallels here given (but cf. the Paschal Homily, p. 142, sup.): however the Paphian date recurs, and we learn (as indeed the Hemerology would tell us) that the Paphian months, though all beginning like the Asiatic months on a. d. ix Kal., did not repeat the first in months of 31 days. For 'Julius' begins a. d. ix Kal. Jan. (Dec. 24) and if it repeated its first the 14th would have been Jan. 7, not Jan. 6.
- 3. The panegyric entitled Laudatio S. Barnabae Apostoli written by a certain Alexander, a monk of Cyprus, and printed in the Acta Sanctorum for June 11 (June, tom. ii. pp. 431-447) gives St. Barnabas' day as κατὰ μὲν Ῥωμαίους τῷ πρὸ τριῶν εἰδῶν Ἰουνίων, κατὰ δὲ Κυπρίους Κωνσταντιεῖς μηνὸς Μεσωρεῖ, τοῦ καὶ δεκάτου, ια΄, κατὰ δὲ Ἰασιανοὺς ἤτοι κατὰ Παφίους Πληθυπάτου τοῦ καὶ ἐννάτου ιθ΄. The ninth 'Asiatic or Paphian' month, commencing a. d. ix Kal. Jun. (May 24) and not repeating its first, will make its 19th on June 11; but Plethypatus is, strictly speaking, only a Paphian and not an Asiatic name (Lightfoot, i. p. 682).

The rough date of this little panegyric is easily fixed; for it discusses the history of Peter the Fuller bishop of Antioch and his claim over Cyprus, so opportunely met by the discovery of the relics of St. Barnabas, and must therefore be later than A.D. 480, while it obviously precedes the Saracen invasions of Cyprus, and must therefore be earlier than A.D. 650. But since Alexander speaks of the Theopaschite addition to the Trisagion made by Peter, δ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς, as still largely in use in his own day among the more simple-minded orthodox, I should conclude that this writing must belong to the earlier half of the sixth century. (See Dict. Christ. Ant. s.v. Trisagion: Bingham, book xiv. ch. 2,

§ 3). Photius (cod. 228) preserves an account of a letter written by Ephraimius, Patriarch of Antioch from about A.D. 527 to 547, in which he maintains the orthodoxy both of the Easterns who used the addition (addressing the hymn to Christ) and the Westerns or Byzantines who rejected it on the ground that the hymn was really addressed to the Holy Trinity. But after this there does not seem to be any mention of the enlarged Trisagion at least in orthodox circles.

4. In the Acts of Timothy (printed in the Acta Sanctorum, January, ii. p. 566) the saint is said to have been martyred 'in nefanda festivitate eorum, quam vocabant Catagogiorum, quae est secundum Asianos quidem mensis quarti die tricesima, secundum autem Romanos mensis Januarii vicesima secunda.' The fourth month commenced a.d. ix Kal. Dec. (Dec. 24) and being a month of 31 days, should repeat the first, so that the Asiatic 30th ought to be Jan. 23 not Jan. 22. It is possible therefore that at some unknown date the system of the double first was dropped, and the days in all months counted straight through, so that the Asiatic Kalendar was in fact assimilated to the Paphian Kalendar described above, in which Jan. 22 would be the 30th of the 4th month. This may be the reason why Alexander the monk, as we saw, can quote a date as κατά δὲ 'Ασιανούς ήτοι κατά Παφίους. Unfortunately there is nothing on the face of these Acts of Timothy to fix their date; but they were read by Photius (cod. 254), while, on the other hand, the application of the title Patriarch to the Bishop of Ephesus seems to show that they are not earlier than A.D. 450. [Prof. Sanday now kindly informs me that Usener, in his edition of these Acts (which I was unable to find in the Bodleian) and Schürer, in reviewing Usener, both fix on a date some time in the fourth century; I should scarcely have thought they were so early.]

NOTE.—On the NEW MATTER CONTAINED IN THE SECOND EDITION (1889), OF BISHOP LIGHTFOOT'S APOSTOLIC FATHERS, (PART II. St. IGNATIUS, St. POLYCARP, VOL. I. pp. 626-722).

[This edition appeared when the proof of the preceding paper had all but finally left my hands, and I am therefore unable to do more than add the present note, calling attention to the chief additions to the discussion on St. Polycarp's martyrdom. These, so

152 On the Second Edition of Bp. Lightfoot's

far as a rapid glance enables one to judge, seem to be mainly the following:—

- (a) On p. 683 (ed. i. p. 666), a sentence is added on the inscription from Ephesus, for which cf. p. 120 sup.
- (b) On p. 687 an unpublished Pergamene inscription, communicated by Mommsen, is printed so far as it bears on the Asiatic Kalendar.
- (c) On p. 714 n. (ed. i. p. 696), the judgment on Usener's theory of the term Σεβαστή is reworded.
- (d) On p. 727, Dr. Lightfoot is good enough to discuss the theory offered in the preceding pages. The Bishop of Salisbury (through Prof. Sanday) had kindly asked the present writer to send him a note on the date of the martyrdom, and this was printed in the new edition of the late Bishop of Lincoln's Church History. In this shape it has come under the notice of Dr. Lightfoot, who criticises its theory of leap-year intercalation, on the ground that the intercalated day must have been the same in Asia as in Rome. This may be so, though Archbishop Ussher, as we have seen, placed it at nearly six months' distance instead of only two days. The last few lines of the Bishop's criticism (where '3rd Xanthicus' occurs three times in mistake, I think, for 2nd Xanthicus) show that I did not succeed in making myself intelligible in the limits of a short abstract. I hope I may have been more fortunate in the preceding paper. C. H. T.]

The inscription from Pergamon (p. 687) is of considerable interest. It is a dedication to Hadrian by a religious college, and names the days annually to be celebrated by the three officials of the corporation. The kalendar employed is obviously Asiatic, for the names Lous, Panemus, Peritius, Hyperberetaeus, occur for various months, and the birthday of Hadrian (a. d. ix Kal. Feb. = Jan. 24) falls on the $\sum \epsilon \beta a \sigma \tau \dot{\eta}$ or first of the month $Ka \hat{\iota} \sigma a \rho$, the latter name being apparently substituted for Dystrus (Jan. 24—Feb. 20) in honour of the reigning Emperor 2. The curious

¹ Usener's theory on this point, accepted above (p. 121), is now admitted by Dr. Lightfoot to be probable (p. 714 m.).

² It is true that the Cypriot (Paphian) Kalendar, dating from the time of Augustus, already used Caesarius for this same month; but the Ephesian Caesarius was a different month, September-October, so called obviously from the birthday of Augustus.

coincidence that the second of the two Emperors whose worship was most extravagantly practised in Asia had his birthday, like the first, on a. d. ix Kal., must have given considerable impetus to a kalendar whose ruling principle was the celebration of this Emperor's day on the first of each month. Further, we find in this inscription that in both the months Panemus and Lous, the three officials observe respectively the days $\Sigma_{\epsilon}\beta$, β' , γ' , that is most naturally the 1st, 2nd, 3rd. Now Lous, as a month of 31 days, ought to have repeated its first, so that the three days would be $\Sigma \in \beta$, a', β' ; and there is therefore a possibility that at Pergamon in Hadrian's time, the double first was not in use, the days being numbered from 1 to 31, which would bring the Pergamene Kalendar into exact agreement with those of Bithynia, Crete and Cyprus (see Lightfoot, p. 681, and for Cyprus, or more properly Paphos, sup. p. 150), all of them different from the Asiatic on this point. A similar kalendar was in use at Attalia in Pamphylia in the third century, whither it no doubt travelled direct from Paphos. In Proconsular Asia itself the compiler of the (late) Acts of Timothy, presumably an Ephesian, omitted the doubled first (sup. p. 151). This alteration Dr. Lightfoot now supposes to have been made at an early date, explaining his second inscription—that from Ephesus of A. D. 104, where, as we saw (p. 120 sup.), Anthesterion or Xanthicus 2 is Feb. 22, not Feb. 23 -on these lines; 'the inconvenience of reckoning two first days must have been seriously felt and would eventually lead to the substitution of another nomenclature at this point without destroying the general framework of the kalendar' (p. 683). Only in the first place, if all this is so, there is no antecedent reason why the 2nd Xanthicus of St. Polycarp's martyrdom fifty years later may not also be an instance where the double first has been dropped, so that the equivalent date would again be Feb. 22, not Feb. 23. It is true that this suggestion implies that the equation in the extant text (a. d. vii Kal. Mart. Feb. 23) is incorrect; but there is certainly no positive objection to treating the Roman date as a later insertion for the benefit of non-Asiatic readers, and since ex hypothesi both the use and the omission of the double first were current in Asia, there is nothing strange if of the two interpretations of Xanthicus 2 (Feb. 22 and 23), a later writer adopted

Lightfoot, p. 684, μητὶ η', κβ' ἐως λα', τῶν ι' ἡμερῶν, equated to May 14-23.

154 On the Second Edition of Bp. Lightfoot's

one as most familiar to himself, while it was the other which really corresponded to the original date.

As a matter of fact the reckoning of the double first did in fact survive long after the second century, as has been shown in the appendix from the use of the Asiatic Kalendar in Pseudo-Chrysostom. The martyrdom of Pionius (Lightfoot, i. 720), obviously depends on it also, for the 12th March is there the 19th of the Asiatic month. On the other hand, of the authorities quoted against the double first, the Pamphylian inscription is too far removed in place, and the Acts of Timothy in time. Then the Pergamene inscription on closer examination shows signs of Asiatic structure; the last but one of the month is still denoted $\pi \rho \bar{o}$, and this means that the last ten days of the month were reckoned backwards, as in the Asiatic Kalendar, and in it only. If an assimilation to the Bithynian and Cyprian type had taken place, the double first would indeed have disappeared, but the backward counting of ten days (which would now have become eleven days) would probably have been dropped for simple enumeration from 1 to 31. Moreover, it is not easy to believe that within the limits of so small an area as Proconsular Asia two kalendars so like, and yet so unlike (for the change would alter by one day at least 140 days in the year), prevailed side by side. That the system of the double first existed, we know; that the contrary system also existed is not proved by the Pergamene inscription; and the Ephesian inscription, though compatible with it, is equally compatible with the hypothesis here suggested.

It was on the assumption that only one kalendar was in use, and in order to meet the two objections as to the pontificate of Anicetus and the high sabbath of Purim in connection with the earlier year, that Feb. 22, A. D. 156 was offered in this paper as a possible alternative to Feb. 23, A. D. 155. Dr. Lightfoot now says (p. 727), that he does not 'lay any stress on this particular solution' of the high sabbath, although he still seems to prefer it¹; and he is arguing, he tells us, in his forthcoming edition of St. Clement, that 'it is impossible with our existing data to fix the accessions of the Roman bishops in the middle of the second

¹ Dr. Lightfoot adds that 'whether in this age the Jews intercalated by whole months or by fractions of months, we cannot say': I should have thought it impossible for a lunar kalendar to intercalate less than a complete moon.

century within three or four years, though a strict reckoning would suggest A. D. 153-155 for that of Anicetus': if the first of these alternative years A. D. 153 is the true one, then the visit of Polycarp can be placed in A. D. 154, and the martyrdom early in the following year. Undoubtedly if another identification than Purim can be found for the high sabbath which will suit Feb. 23, A. D. 155; and if the accession of Anicetus can be placed as early as Dr. Lightfoot believes; and if two kalendars were simultaneously in use in Proconsular Asia; the ground is cut away from any theory such as that here presented which based itself on the explanation of the 'high sabbath' selected by Dr. Lightfoot himself, and on the chronological difficulty raised by Prof. Lipsius, the writer who had up to that time devoted most study to the episcopal successions at Rome. But until these points are satisfactorily settled there may be something to be said for the date suggested in this paper.

•

IV.

THE CLEMENTINE HOMILIES.

[C. Bigg.]

A CONSIDERABLE number of documents emanating from the early ages of the Church are attributed, we know not why, to the authorship of Clement of Rome. Such are the Second Epistle, the Epistles on Virginity, a Liturgy, the Canons and the Constitutions of the Apostles. But in addition to these. and widely different from any of them, there is a most singular group of books that claims the same origin. Three are well known, the Homilies, the Recognitions, and the Epitome. these three are survivors of a much more numerous family. We possess branches of the same stock in Syriac and in Arabic, and others now lost can be proved to have existed in ancient Rufinus was acquainted with two distinct editions of the Recognitions, and by the side of our unorthodox there was an orthodox Clementina, which in the Eastern Church seems to have ousted the other from circulation.

It is not proposed in this paper to touch upon the Epitome, which has no independent interest of its own. Nor will it be necessary to deal immediately with the Recognitions. Whatever may be the precise relation of this book to the Homilies, and this is a question that will be treated in its place, it seems to be nothing else than a recast in an orthodox direction of the Homilies. The interest that attaches to the Recognitions is mainly literary. A close examination of its structure may throw light on difficulties that surround the other far more interesting book; whereas the interest of the Homilies is mainly doctrinal and historical. Where and by whom were these strange doctrines preached? What is their origin and lineage? what their relation to the Gnostic heresies, and

The Clementine Homilies.

158

to the Catholic Church? All students of the history of doctrine are acquainted with one remarkable answer that has been given to this question. The Homilies were the key of the position of the Tübingen School. This, said Baur, was primitive Christianity, this was 'Petrinism,' the genuine doctrine of the first followers of Jesus. The overthrow of the Tübingen School by the critical and historical methods, of which Dr. Harnack is one of the most illustrious living representatives, has relegated the Homilies to a place of inferior interest. Yet it is, and must remain, a book of very great importance, and any fresh light that we can get upon its date, meaning, and authorship will be of value.

The Homilies, or rather Clement's Epitome of the Itinerant Preachings of Peter, in its present shape (and even after Dressel's discovery it may be doubted whether we have the full text) consists of twenty books or chapters. Prefixed to the main work are two prefatory letters to St. James of Jerusalem. The first is from St. Peter, who begs St. James to guard with the most scrupulous care for secrecy 'the books of my preachings which I sent you.' To this is appended the Protestation to be made by all those into whose hands the books are delivered. They are to be entrusted to none but circumcised teachers, and each recipient is to make a solemn oath or protestation of a peculiar heathenish form, by the four elements, not to betray the confidence reposed in him. After this he is to partake of a remarkable sacrament of bread and salt. the second letter Clement announces to St. James the death of St. Peter, and his own appointment by that apostle to succeed him in the Bishopric of Rome. This second epistle however is rightly regarded as belonging not to the Homilies but to the Recognitions.

The main body of the work is dictated by two different motives. The first is the debate between Christianity and Gnosticism, conducted by St. Peter and Simon Magus: the second is the debate between Christianity and Heathenism, in which the parties are Clement and his brothers on the one side, and Appion and Faustus on the other. To the latter belongs the framework of romance in which the whole book Clement, a high-born Roman youth, a relative of the Emperor Tiberius, has been left alone in the world by a series of mysterious accidents. His mother and two brothers travelled to the East, and then disappeared; afterwards his father went in quest of his lost wife and children, and disappeared also. Like many of the finer spirits of the time Clement is beset by religious doubts, and long seeks in vain for light and comfort to his soul. Relief comes to him from an unexpected quarter. In the reign of Tiberius Caesar, in the opening of the year, a rumour spreads, men knew not whence or how, that in Judaea there is One preaching glad tidings of the Kingdom of the Eternal. And in the autumn of the same year an unknown man was to be seen in the streets of Rome, preaching that the Son of God is in the Holy Land.

At once the young enquirer resolves upon his course. He will go and ascertain for himself what this strange news may mean. Business delays him for some time, apparently till towards the summer of the next year; then, baffling winds drive him off the coast of Palestine into the sheltering harbour of Alexandria. Here he finds Barnabas preaching the Gospel in the streets, beset by a crowd of mocking Greek philosophers. Clement rescues the apostle from his tormentors, and takes him home to his lodging. Next day Barnabas sets sail for Palestine, inviting Clement to follow. Clement is detained in Alexandria some little time longer, to collect debts due to him in that town, but finally, in his impatience, leaves his money affairs unsettled, and takes ship. A voyage of fifteen days brings him to Caesarea, where he finds Barnabas, who introduces him to Peter. Clement attaches himself to Peter, attends him in his pursuit of Simon Magus from town to town, from Caesarea to Tripolis, the Syrian Laodicea and Antioch, and in the course of these journeyings recovers by a series of happy providences his mother Mattidia, his father Faustus, and his two brothers Faustinus and Faustinianus.

The Clementine Homilies.

160

The last two had joined Peter some time before himself, under the names of Nicetes and Aquila.

The plot of the Homilies and Recognitions is the same, with certain variations in detail, which have a high interest in their bearing on the question of authorship. Let us content ourselves here with a few observations. The romance assumes that St. Peter was Bishop first of Antioch, and afterwards of Rome. It accepts the tradition, not found elsewhere before Tertullian 1, that Clement was the immediate, and not the second or third, successor of St. Peter in the Bishopric of It presupposes the confusion of Simon Magus with Semo Sancus, which had already been made in the time of The belief that Clement was second Bishop of Rome implies an identification of Clemens Romanus with the Clement of the Epistle to the Philippians. But he was also identified with the Flavius Clemens put to death by his relative Domitian on a charge of atheism. This, perhaps, is why the author of the romance makes his hero belong to the imperial house, though to avoid a palpable anachronism he is obliged to connect him with the Julian, instead of the Flavian, family. The name of Mattidia is borrowed from the family of Trajan, that of Faustus from the family of Marcus Aurelius. All these traits in the narrative are indications of a certain lateness of date, though they do not afford means for any very accurate definition of time. But a story exhibiting these peculiar features can hardly have been composed before the latter part of the second century, and may be of even more recent origin. As regards composition, let us observe that the work, though cast in dramatic form, exhibits not the least vestige of dramatic ability. The characters are merely wooden puppets, left lying in a corner until they are wanted, and then shuffled awkwardly on to the stage. Personality they have none. The style is in general simple and clear, with a certain thin elegance about it, rising at times, for instance in the eulogy on the Chaste Wife, into positive beauty. It is entirely free from the affected Homerisms of the Rhetoricians. But it is certainly not the work of a born Greek. The cast of phrase is not idiomatic; the sentences are short, connected by sense not by particles; the grasp of grammar is undecided, and countless passages are obscured or disfigured by mistakes such as a schoolboy might make. Upon the whole the faults do not seem to be those that might be expected to occur in Roman Greek, and I suspect that an expert would feel little hesitation in attributing the composition to an Oriental ¹. The higher qualities of style are conspicuously absent. There are occasional flashes of insight, and the author has a considerable aptitude for selecting good ideas and telling points. But his system, if system it can be called, is a dull and barbarous farrago of inconsistencies.

I propose to direct the reader's attention (I) to the Theology of the Homilies, (II) to its Hierarchical tendency, (III) to its relation to Gnosticism, (IV) to its Apologetics, (V) and lastly to its date, object, and meaning, so far as we shall be able to ascertain them.

(I) The most remarkable fact about the book, in view of the use that Baur made of it, is that, though the author has properly speaking no Trinity at all, he yet insists upon the administration of Baptism in 'the thrice blessed Invocation,' and uses the doxology. We shall see that his copy of St. Matthew contained the first chapter; it must also have contained the last. The three names have no three things,

¹ The author does not understand the use of the Greek article: τds προφάσειs τῆς λοιδορίαs is an instance of a fault that occurs in almost every page; συγγανώσαν is used with genitive, and ἐπθυμεῦν with accusative, iii. 5; we find strange words, like πρώτως and διαφωνεῦν (= to be choked, drowned, or speechless) xiii. 5, xiv. 9: and strange phrases, such as προαρέσεως ἐγενόμην (= I was minded), xv. 10; or θεότητός ἐσταν (= is divine), xvii. 13. Some features have a Latin look; for instance, ἔχει κριθήναι, σωθήναι et simm.; βίων περιγραφαί (= circumscriptiones), iv. 20; συνεστάναι (= constare), xiv. 11; ἐκδικεῦν (= vindicare, to maintain), xviii. 9. For short disconnected sentences, see iii, etc. But these facts are not sufficient to prove a Western origin. The syntax constantly goes to wreck in a way that cannot be accounted for by corruption of the text.



The Clementine Homilies.

162

certainly no three equal things corresponding to them, and he arranges them in his system in an order which is not that of the New Testament. Yet he durst not renounce the Catholic formula. Surely this is a most remarkable phenomenon. The sect which is represented in the Homilies can never have been in the humour to borrow its central confession of doctrine, its watchword—and this phrase is no less—from the Catholic Church. Whatever Christianity it possesses is of the most primitive kind, long anterior to any Gentile developments. Yet it possesses the Trinitarian baptismal formula. This fact seems to determine at once the place of the Ebionite sect in the history of the Church. It could not, by the light of its inherited traditions, find any explanation of the new faith, and it therefore gave up the attempt and fell out of the race, retaining, however, this mysterious formula as a magical charm or amulet, by which in some way the gates of heaven were opened to the baptized.

The leading phrase of the Homilies is the Monarchy of God 1 which is held in the strictly Jewish sense. unpardonable sin is to teach or believe anything that derogates from the sole and incommunicable majesty of the Creator. He who made the world, and all that is therein must be One, and One only. If there were a second God, He would have created a second world. His own people would owe Him allegiance, but we could be in no way concerned with Him. The first conception of this Deity is that familiar to us in the Platonising writers 2. He is the Unknown and Unknowable. But here we come at once to the most extraordinary of the many absurdities of the Homilies. The author abominates anthropopathism 3 with such vehemence that he will not hear of explaining those passages of scripture where human emotions are ascribed to the Divine by the familiar principle of condescension, but absolutely rejects them all as forgeries of the devil. And yet he is a no less vehement anthropomorphist 4. But for this book it ² xix. 10. 1 iii. 9. 38, 59. 61. 3 ii. 40 sqq. 4 xvii. 7 sqq.

would have seemed incredible that these two opinions could exist side by side. And this is not all. The author of the Homilies is not content until he has attained the farthest point in the realm of nonsense ever reached by any human being. For this Deity who has the shape of man is yet infinite. Certain Stoics held that God has shape, not indeed that of man, but the perfect figure, that of the globe. But they also taught that he was therefore finite 1. author will have it that the Deity, though he has figure, is yet infinite, and this in order to reconcile his Stoicism with Scripture which, whenever he chooses, he treats as a forgery. He defends his anthropomorphism partly by the familiar arguments, how can God be beautiful? how can he be the object of faith or love without definite shape? partly with a dull pretence of philosophy. The only remarks we need make on his reasonings is that they give us a glimpse of the author's The people among whom he lived held their personality. peculiar creed in unquestioning faith, and did not trouble their heads about logical possibilities. All the chatter of the Homilist about primary and secondary space, and about the figured God being infinite because He is limited only by space, that is by Nothing, is a misapplication of lessons picked up at some Greek university.

Anthropomorphism was held by many Jews ², though surely not by those who had come much under the influence of Greek philosophy, even though they inclined to the opinions of Zeno. Another idea prevalent in the Jewish schools, which has a mystical tinge and is quite irreconcilable with anthropomorphism, is that in the essence of the Deity are combined two elements, the masculine and the feminine ³. The author of the *Homilies*, or his people, seized upon this to explain the

¹ Clement of Alexandria (Strom. vii. 7. 37) charges the Stoics with Anthropomorphism, but it is expressly denied by Diogenes Laertius, vii. 147. Cp. Seneca, Ep. 113. 22, 'Si rotundam (figuram) illis qualem deo dederint'

² Gfrörer, Jahr des Heils, il. 107.

³ Ib. i. 299.

doctrine of the Holy Ghost. God created the world, yet not strictly speaking by Himself. The words 'Let us make man' are explained not of God and the Logos, but of God and Wisdom, that is, the Holy Ghost 1. 'With this Wisdom He ever rejoiced as with His own Spirit. Wisdom, indeed, is united with God as his Soul; it is thrust forth from Him as a hand creating all that is. Therefore also one man was created, and from him proceeded the female, and being one in kind they form a dyad. For by extension and contraction the one becomes a two. Therefore I do right in ascribing all honour to God as my parents.' The idea that Wisdom is feminine, and that creation is the offspring of the mysterious wedlock between the two sides of the Divine, belongs to the author's sect, and may be found in the book of But in that book Wisdom is an angel, an inferior and separate being. Yet doubtless our author was not alone in regarding it as an immanent portion of a dualistic whole, as the soul of God, reaching forth 'like a hand' when it deals with the material world, yet in truth always at home.

This idea, the product of Hebrew speculations upon the Hebrew Bible, was capable of being brought into easy connection with the Stoic theory of the world. There are indeed passages in the Homilies that remind us of Plato. We read of the visible and invisible heavens?, that is of the ideal and phenomenal world. God is the 'Seal' or Form of all things', which exist only by 'participation' in Him, and the eternity of matter is not denied 4. But these things are not distinctive of any school in the Alexandrine age. In a remarkable place in the seventeenth Homily God is the heart of the universe, from whence stream forth six extensions (ἐκτάσεις) up and down, right and left, forwards and backwards. These are the six divine motions of the Timaeus which our author has seized upon to explain the six days of creation. By adding to them as a seventh term the central rest of the Deity, he gets the 'mystery of the Hebdomad,' and finds a philosophical raison

¹ xvi. 12. ³ xi. 22. ³ xvi. 19. ⁴ iii. 33.

d'être for the Sabbath. In the sixth Homily God is the τεχνίτης νους, who forms the World Animal by mixing the four elements in a bowl. This again is from the Timaeus. But in the twentieth Homily the mode of thought is entirely Stoic. God combines in His unity two antithetic elements, the material and the spiritual. Each of these is capable of self-originated change. As air thickens into water, water into earth and stones, and stones when struck produce fire, so is it with the Divine Essence. This too, when it pleases, can change itself, and, when it pleases, return into its original state. So far have we departed from Plato here that the author considers the superiority of the Father to the Son to consist precisely in the power of self-ordained mutation into lower forms of existence. God is the Beginning; He is also the End. All proceeds from Him, all is penetrated by Him, and will eventually return into Him. It is the dernier mot of Heraclitus and the Stoics. 'Jupiter est quodcunque vides.' The world is God, whose essence is thickened and materialised as He 'projects' it farther from His 'heart,' and refined and spiritualised as it pulsates slowly back to the centre of All. We ask in amazement, where is the place of anthropomorphism in this thoroughgoing pantheism?

And here we come to the central difference between the Homilies and Catholicism. Readers of Philo will recollect his doctrine of the Powers of God. Goodness, the older and better Power, stands over against Righteousness, the younger and inferior, and between the two, so as to harmonise their discrepancy, is placed the Word. The root of this doctrine is to be found in mystic rabbinical speculations on the Chariot Throne of Ezekiel's vision. It has been doubted whether the Powers of Philo are personalities in the strict sense of the word, whether the Logos doctrine was the creation of Philo or of some earlier Alexandrine, whether it was not even current in Palestinian schools, and if so, in what precise sense. Now in the Homilies we find the two Powers but no Logos.

¹ Siegfried, Philo von Alexandria, p. 212.

They are both persons. And at the same time the speculations out of which they sprang are absolutely rejected, for the writer will have none but the literal sense of Scripture, and attaches very little value to the prophets. Another curious point is, that though our author rejects the Logos doctrine, he uses St. John's Gospel. Does not this go to prove that no effective Logos doctrine ever was current in the native Jewish schools?

By the changes of God there are 'projected' two creatures of especial dignity and importance, the Son and the Evil One. Both are 'begotten,' if you please, but our author objects to the phrase as savouring of anthropopathism, and prefers 'created' or 'projected.' They are not 'brothers,' inasmuch as they do not owe their origin to the same change, and the one stands on a much lower plane than the other. The Son is the offspring of the noblest change of God, the first modification, that is, of the spiritual side of the divine Dyad. The Evil One, on the other hand, springs from a 'mixture' of the four elements 'outside' of the Deity. This last idea is borrowed from the *Timaeus*.

These two Powers then are in a way antitheses, yet not so much opposed as complementary. The Son represents the Goodness, the Evil One the Justice of God. The latter is King of this world, the former of that which is to come. Satan, by his mixed material nature, has received a will that delights in evil, yet he does no wrong for fear of God. He is the instrument of the divine wrath against sin, the Saviour, we may say, of those who are kept from wickedness only by dread of the consequences. He will, with his fellow servants, the wicked angels, be sent down finally to Tartarus. But in the end he will be changed in nature and saved ². His final

¹ xx. 8.

² Hom. xx. 3: δ οὖν πονηρὸς πρὸς τῷ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος κόσμου τέλει ὑπουργήσας ἀμέμπτως τῷ θεῷ, ἄτε δὴ οὐ μιᾶς οὐσίας ῶν τῆς πρὸς κακίαν μόνης μετασυγκριθεὶς ἀγαθὸς γενέσθαι δύναται. The proportions in which he is mixed will be altered.

salvation is figured by the rod of Moses, which first turned into a serpent then into a rod again.

The Son, on the contrary, is the agent of the divine Goodness 1. He is emphatically 'not God,' except in that sense in which the title may be given to all mankind as sharing in the image of God, and this 'is no great thing.' He is not God, because he is not the Creator, being himself created. Nevertheless, his position is exalted far above all else in heaven or in earth. He is δμοούσιος, not with God per se, but with that particular modification of the divine essence by which he is engendered, and therefore loodivamos, not with God per se, but with this same modification?. He is preexistent, and therefore eternal, because that which is before the world is before time. To him are applied expressly the promise of Jacob and the prophecy of Emmanuel³. He is the True Prophet, who knows all things past, present, and future, and teaches them not μανικώς, by ecstasy, trance, or vision—this point is emphasised again and again —but by revelation 4. He alone of all the prophets is called Son of God. He is Θειότητος γέμων 5. us,' it is said, 'there is but One God, who created all things and ordered all things, whose Son is Christ.' story of the Incarnation is accepted as it is given in St. Matthew 6. But the most remarkable feature of the doctrine of the Homilies is that Jesus, though the highest, was not the only avatar of the True Prophet. He had been

¹ xvi. 15 **s**qq.

² Hom. xx. 7: δμοούσιον μή παρούση τροπή προβάλλει, Ισοδύναμον δὲ ού. Read τη meo periculo for μή, and the passage becomes at once intelligible.

^{*} xvi. 14. 4 ii. 6 sqq.; iii. 13.

⁵ i. 6: xvi. 14.

^{*} The miraculous conception is expressly stated, Hom. iii. 17: θεοῦ τοῦ τὰ πάντα πεποιηκότος τὸ μέγα καὶ άγιον τῆς προγνώσεως αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα εἰ μὴ τῷ ὑπὸ χειρῶν αὐτοῦ κνοφορηθέντι ἀνθρώπῳ δψη τις ἐσχηκέναι, πῶς ἔτι ἐτέρῳ τῷ ἐκ μυσαρᾶς σταγόνος γεννηθέντι ὁ ἀπονέμων οὐ τὰ μέγιστα ἀμαρτάνει; With this agrees the fact that the Homilist in Matt. iii. 17 read οὖτός ἐστιν ὁ υἰός μου ὁ ἀγάπητος εἰς δν εὐδόκησα· τούτου ἀκούετε and not ἐγὰ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε, Hom. iii. 53. And the Jews were mistaken in thinking Christ Son of David and not Son of God, Hom. xviii. 13.

168

incarnate before in Adam and in Moses, perhaps also in Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. How deeply this peculiar view affects the relation of the Law and the Gospel we shall see as we proceed. His death is spoken of two or three times 1, but no particular value is attached to it in respect of the salvation of man. As regards the Lord Himself His patience in suffering 2 is the reason why He has been 'anointed with the mercy of God,' 'exalted to be king of all things in air and earth and sea 3.' Here, apparently, some sort of a $\pi\rho\rho\kappa\rho\pi\eta'$ is intended, but it is hard to see in what precisely it consists. Of the text 'No man knoweth the Father but the Son' it is contemptuously said that it has ten thousand explanations 4.

In the doctrine of the Fall and Restitution of man there is the same singular mixture—a few philosophic phrases overlying a mass of rabbinical crotchets, beneath which the reader catches sight of a still lower depth of abject superstition. The question, what is the origin of evil, is one of the leading motives of the book, and the answer which our author had picked up from the Apologists is that evil proceeds from the freedom of the will.

But this is only the outside. God created man in His own Image, like Him that is to say in bodily shape; and in His own Likeness, like Him, that is, in intellect and virtue⁵. Adam was a true prophet⁶, and it is blasphemy to assert that he sinned. But Eve, the woman, was of lower, emotional type⁷, and those of her descendants who resembled her were subject to lustful appetites. In their impatience they forgot the great natural law, that children born at certain seasons of the year are necessarily evil⁸. Hence there arose a wicked generation who lost the Likeness of God. This is how our author explains the Hellenic doctrine that sin is ignorance.

Of the same strain with this peculiarly degraded materialism is the demonology of the *Homilies*, by which the explanation

¹ iii. 19, 20; xi. 20. ² iii. 20. ³ Phil. ii. 10 ¹ xviii. 13. ⁵ iii. 20; xi. 4; xvii. 7. ⁶ ii. 52. ⁷ iii. 24. ⁸ xix. 22.

of evil, as it exists in the world, is really completed. Grieved by this revolt of man the angels of the lower sphere I went down to earth in the hope of winning the rebels back to their allegiance. But the world was too strong for them. They fell themselves, married the daughters of man, and betrayed to their wives for bridal gifts the secrets of heaven, magic and science. Here we have the explanation of that hatred of intellectual cultivation as a Pandora gift of Satan which Clement of Alexandria resisted with such earnestness. From these ill-assorted nuptials sprang the Giants, who, though not at first evil, fell in their turn through greediness. They tasted blood, and taught men to lust for the same Their sin polluted air and earth, caused accursed food. deadly reptiles and poisonous plants to exist, and brought the deluge upon the world. Nothing strikes the reader of the Homilies more than the horror of blood which pervades the whole book. To the author and his people the Bible, and the whole world, seem to reek like a charnel-house. Sin is murder; the earth is full of cruel habitations. The spirits of the dead Giants became demons², who have power over all that 'eat of the demons' table,' taking actual corporal possession of the wretched sinner, 'creeping from the brain down the marrow of the backbone.' So complete is this terrible union that death does not dissolve it. Together the wicked man and his demon are cast into the flames. And there, while the human soul, whose nature is akin to light, writhes in anguish, the demon, whose essence is fiery, bathes with delight in its congenial element. The means of deliverance from this dreadful fate are faith, fasting, mortification, prayer, and incantations, and the knowledge of these salutary remedies we owe to Revelation.

The true faith is revealed through all True Prophets, and the revelation is recorded partly in Scripture, partly in the oral tradition of the Church. But there are also false prophets and delusive revelations. A great part of the Old Testament



170

is peremptorily rejected. The Homilist lays down the Platonic axiom 1 that 'nothing unworthy is to be believed of God.' Hence, as he does not, in theory at least, allow the expedient of allegorism, he is driven to conclude that any passage of Scripture that seems to derogate from the majesty of the Supreme is false, and not to be accepted without This conclusion he supports by critical reasons. Pentateuch was written after the death of Moses 2, which indeed it records. It was found in the temple five hundred years after that date, and lost again in Nebuchadnezzar's siege. Nor are the canonical prophets to be received without large deductions. It is not denied that they prophesied of Christ³, but they are spoken of with contempt as 'born of woman,' deluded, that is, by trances and visions which, as we have seen, are regarded as hallucinations sent by the Evil One. John the Baptist is treated with absolute aversion 4 as the founder of Gnosticism. All men's opinions are to be found in Scripture. Hence one of the most pressing duties of the believer 6 is to be 'an approved money-changer,' able to distinguish the false coin from the true. This he can accomplish if he gives heed to the authorized interpreters of Holy Writ, such as were the scribes and doctors. But above all others it is the function of Christ, the True Prophet par excellence, to winnow genuine from false Scriptures. When he tells us that 'not one jot or tittle shall pass from the law,' it is plain that all that has been abolished—sacrifice, the rule of kings, prophecies delivered by those 'born of woman' (of a temporal bloodshedding Messiah), were vain devices, 'plants which the Heavenly Father hath not planted.' 'Hence it is impossible without his instruction to stand upon saving truth, even if one seeks for ever where the object of his search is not, as it was, and is, in the word of our Jesus.'

If we ask how we know that Jesus is the True Prophet, we are referred to the example of St. Peter, to whom it was revealed,

¹ ii. 38. ² iii. 47. ³ iii. 49. ⁴ ii. 23. ⁵ iii. 9. ⁶ ii. 51.

not by trance but 'welling up in his mind he knew not how.' But to the earnest seeker a further aid is provided in the doctrine of Syzygies or Antitheses¹. God has created all things double, one against another. First we have the celestial antitheses, in which the better always precedes the worse, heaven and earth, day and night, sun and moon, life and death, light and fire, Adam and Eve. Next come the terrestrial antitheses, in which 'owing to free will,' that is to sin, the order is inverted, so that the worse precedes the better; Cain and Abel, the two spirits of Noah the Raven and the Dove, Ishmael and Isaac, Esau and Jacob, the High Priest and the Legislator, Simon and Peter, Antichrist and Christ. Like much else in this curious system the theory of the antitheses is only half developed. The greatest importance is attached to it, yet we nowhere see clearly in what its importance consists. It seems to be related to the paired acons of the Valentinians, the Sephiroth of the Sohar. But its place in the system is wholly different. In the Homilies the antitheses are merely a mode of the divine working. The idea seems to be that the changes of the Divine Nature are inverted as they stream outwards from the centre to the periphery, and as they flow back from the periphery to the centre of all. In creation the better change precedes the worse, in this world God ever follows up and remedies the confusion caused by man. Hence, while the baser and higher types of religion are ever found in conflict, the mere order of succession is a guide to the truth. But the idea of development is not clearly seized. no connection between the different pairs of antitheses, each of which simply repeats the same eternal antagonism of shadow and substance. And in the highest case of all the antagonism is not sufficiently marked. For the teaching of the True Prophet is always the same. The message of Adam and Moses is substantially identical with that of Christ. Hence God accepts both Jew and Christian, provided that the Jew does not hate Christ, the Christian does not dishonour Moses².

recognised that in some sense Christianity stands higher than the older dispensation. He who admits that both Moses and Christ taught the same truth 'is accounted a man rich in God.' The Gospel has the glory of calling Gentiles to a share in the promises. Again, Baptism is indispensable to salvation. For this a curious reason is given, that the water of regeneration quenches the fiery demon within us, a notion that we shall be justified in connecting with the ancient reading about the fire that burned in Jordan at the Baptism of our Lord.

The True Prophet² brings to man all saving truth from the cardinal doctrine of the unity of God down to the names of angels, the knowledge of astrology, of lucky and unlucky seasons, and of incantations for the cure of snake bites. But belief, though the main condition, is not of itself sufficient for salvation. Man must recover the lost likeness of God by virtuous habits, by keeping the Law.

We have already seen that these words are by no means to be taken in their vulgar sense. What we know as the Law is a forgery. The true Law was handed down from Moses orally through the Seventy. Its precepts are to pray; to abstain from the table of devils—that is, not to touch blood; to observe the rule of marital control referred to by Ezekiel; to keep the Gospel rule 'whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.' Abstinence from all flesh is recommended by the example of St. Peter, but not enjoined. Circumcision is not mentioned in the book itself, nor the keeping of the Sabbath, but it may with some reason be suspected that both were regarded as obligatory to

¹ Hom. xi. 26. Cp. Justin, Trypho 88; Or. Sib. vi. 6; and Alexandre's Exc. vol. ii. p. 469; Clem. Alex. Excerpta ex Theod. 76. 81. Curious points of resemblance between the Valentinians and the Homilies occur frequently.

² iii. 36.

³ Peter's Preachings (=the Homilies) are not to be entrusted to any but a circumcised believer, Contestatio. And Clement had become a Jew at Rome before he joined Peter, Hom. iv. 22. For the mystery of the Hebdomad, see Hom. xvii. 10. The phrase was familiar to Clement of Alexandria, who endeavours to substitute for it 'the Mystery of the Ogdoad,' that is, to put Sunday in the place of the Sabbath.

Other rules of conduct are incidentally introduced. The believer (he is never called a Christian) must bathe himself daily, and not eat with unbelievers. Absolute poverty is commanded 1. Τὰ κτήματα ἁμαρτήματα is the pithy formula in which the rule is embodied. Truth is not a cardinal virtue. matters of faith it is lawful to dissemble², and even to employ Except in regard to meat, and probably wine, the treachery. standard is not ascetic³. Chastity is highly commended, but it is the chastity of a faithful wife. One chief duty of the priest is to encourage early marriages. It is laid down, as in the Ethics of Aristotle, that all the passions are good 4 up to a certain point. But the greatest of all moral perfections is φιλανθρωπία⁵, the love of man based on his corporal likeness to God. 'Thou hast seen thy brother, thou hast seen God,' says an apocryphal Gospel of the same tinge, reminding us of the phrase of Novalis, 'I touch heaven when I lay my hand on a human body.' This and all the other virtues ought to flow from the love of God, but it is maintained against the Gnostics by the Homilies as by Clement of Alexandria, that the fear of God also is a high and worthy motive.

A few words may be devoted to the doctrine of the Homilies on the final destiny of man. The Homilist is no Universalist, though he believed in the ultimate salvation of the Evil One, but, as we have seen, Satan is not one of the demons. The just find eternal rest in the bosom of God. They become all light, so that they may be able to see Him who is Light. The language used does not necessarily imply absorption, though it perhaps tends that way. The wicked and unbelieving (for piety will not avail those who have rejected the truth) are punished in the fire. There are passages in which the eternity of punishment is most strongly expressed, but there are others of a very different tenor. The believer will be saved eventually.

¹ xv. 7 sqq. ² xiii. 13.

³ Peter's diet is bread, olives, and herbs, Hom. xii. 6; but no command is laid down.

...... ilomilies.

Those who do not repent will act the Stoic. Apparently the Resurrection to the just alone? The view of the interest of the just alone? The view of the just alone?

recent a the Hemilies possesses a well-developed . issueps, Priests , and Deacons, to which may be sad Widows. Of the Bishop it is said that Special stress is laid on the duty war a Christ. the or he payment of the clergy. But it is unnecesconcernitional region of the characteristic control of the charact or one of Origen. Of the Sacraments which the the case, one, Baptism, is spoken of in a way that and a continuous to be noticed hereafter) does not differ in Catholic theology; but side by side with . . . dady both or baptism, which evidently has a Yet the author is not a Hemerobaptist, and consists of bread, at the secondy water". In addition to these there is

to the state what the root is the Seal or Form of the Body, Hom.

The state was a recent on of the divine Image depends on home a seal of the divine I theness beyond possibility of recovery. See also 3 iii. 59 sqq.

¹⁶ minutes a Productors under each Bishop is twelve, Hom. xi. 36.
16 minutes a Productor not stated in Homilies, but Recog. iii. 66, it is four.
16 twelve Productors op the usage at Alexandria, and Duae Viae in
16 miles and V I miss the Rev. ii. p. 116.

the she incomes of thread and Salt (neither water nor wine is mentioned, there can be no doubt that it contained water) to use one and income Home. i. 22; iv. 26; xi. 34, 36; xiii. II. At the shear water shear shear ancental meal before he is baptized; but this is

another sacrament, an initiatory oath by the four elements, earth, air, fire, and water, to be taken by every one admitted to the sect. James is Head of the Church, but apparently this primacy is to pass to Peter and Clement as his successor. Yet by the side of the ordinary hierarchy we read of a Council of Seventy who keep watch and ward over the orthodoxy of the Church, after the model of the Seventy Jewish Elders.

This is the most difficult and perplexing portion of this singular work, and it is just here that we get a glimpse into its real origin. The Homilies are deeply tinctured by the influence of Elxai's Book of Mormon. Any one who reads the fragments of that book will feel it to be impossible that the high Catholic hierarchy² can belong to the same block as the daily bath, the communion of bread and salt, the masonic oath, and the Seventy Elders. Even in Eastern Syria we cannot believe without the clearest historical evidence that so incongruous a combination actually existed. The Homilies are surely the work of a Catholic convert to Ebionitism, who thought he saw in the doctrine of the Two Powers the only tenable answer to Gnosticism. We can separate his Catholicism from his Ebionitism just as surely as his Stoicism.

III. It is unnecessary for my present purpose to state in detail the argument against Gnosticism as it is delivered in the *Homilies*³. But this is the proper connection in which to perhaps an oversight. The phrase εὐχαριστίαν κλάσαι occurs xi. 36, xiv. 1; but it refers to the same thing.

¹ Ep. Petri ad Jac.

³ Πρεσβυτέρους γαρ ούτοι έχουσι, says Epiphanius (Haer. xxx. 18), και αρχισυναγώγους. Συναγωγήν δι ούτοι καλούσι την έαυτών έκκλησίαν και ούχι έκκλησίαν. Let the reader compare this with Hom. iii. 67.

There are however some points in the treatment of Gnosticism in the Homilies which call for notice. Those who read attentively the discussion on the Evil One in Homily xix. will, I think, perceive that what Simon Magus really maintains there is that it is impossible to speak evil of Gnosticism and yet believe in a Devil; that orthodox Christians do in fact admit the existence of a bad God, and therefore ought to be Gnostics. I do not remember to have seen this argument advanced elsewhere. Next, the Homiliet attributes to Simon a peculiar veneration for the moon. He is surrounded by a band of 29½ followers (29 men and one woman, Helen, of whom it is said that she is equal to half a man) corresponding to the days

speak of the author's relation to St. Paul. The view here taken of his position will help us better to understand his famous attack upon the great apostle of the Gentiles.

The attack is made from a peculiar and unexpected quarter. It is directed not primarily against St. Paul's treatment of the Law, for the *Homilist* himself is a heretic on this point, but against his Revelation. St. Peter is represented as arguing the question of Ecstasy with Simon. The Ineffable God of the Gnostic is not revealed in scripture, and can therefore be known only by direct vision. But visions, the apostle maintains, far from being sent by God, are delusions of the evil spirit. Therefore, if to thee also Jesus was made known in a vision, He appeared to thee in a vision and in dreams because He was angry with thee as an adversary. If thou wast seen of Him and made His disciple in one brief hour, preach

of the lunar month. In the Recognitions Helen is called Luna, and this identification so clearly underlies the Homilies that it was no doubt found in the Grundschrift. Hence also Simon keeps a curious Sabbath every eleventh day (ii. 35), on the 10th, 20th, and 30th of the month. One speaking sign of the comparative lateness of the Recognitions is the fact that the author of that book was perplexed by this singular usage, and mistranslates the passage where it is mentioned—i. 20, 'Differt Simon certaminis diem in undecimum mensis praesentis quae est post septem dies (in the Homilies we read 'Avaríθεται Σίμων την ζήητσιν els την αύριον ήμέραν ή γαρ σήμερον το δι' ένδεκα ήμερων αυτού τυγχάνει σάββατον). Thirdly, Simon differs from Marcion, Basilides, and Valentinus, in that he does not believe in our Lord. Jesus was the Son of the Demiurge, xviii. 4, and sometimes 'did not know what he was saying, xviii. II. This is a cardinal point, and must baffle all attempts to represent Simon as teaching the doctrines, or maintaining the position of any one of the three great heresiarchs. Simon actually alleges that he is himself the true or eternal Christ (as opposed to Jesus), xpiordo saurdo alvissόμενος έστῶτα προσαγορεύει. Here we have both agreement and disagreement with Hippolytus. According to that writer (Philos, vi. 13, 14) Simon claimed to be the earths, ords, arnotheros, not God Himself, but the Seventh Power of God, which from eternity existed in God, and was His eladr. But then again, according to Hippolytus (ibid. 19), Simon said that he had been in Jesus. This is in direct contradiction to the Homilies. Add to all this that the Homilies represent John the Baptist as the antagonist of our Lord, the founder of Gnosticism and the teacher of Simon, and it will be seen that we have here an account of Simon quite independent of that given by Irenaeus, Hippolytus, or Epiphanius. Possibly some of my readers may be able to throw more light on these obscure and curious points.

¹ xvii. 13 sqq.

His words, explain His doctrine, love His apostles, fight not against one who lived with Him.' 'If thou callest me condemned' (the very word applied by St. Paul to St. Peter in Galatians), 'thou accusest God who revealed unto me the Christ.' The meaning of all this is hardly doubtful when we reflect that Simon Magus does not believe in Jesus at all, and further observe that the passage has been so remodelled in the Recognitions that all taint of its original virus has been neutralised. 'Lawlessness' is indeed attributed to St. Paul, again under the person of Simon. In the prefatory letter to St. James, St. Peter complains that 'certain of the Gentiles have rejected my legal preaching, and embraced a lawless and absurd doctrine of the enemy.' But 'lawlessness' is to be understood not in the sense of the orthodox Pharisaic opponents of the apostle, but in one something like that of those wholly different antagonists who are denounced in Colossians, and the charge rests quite as much on the way in which Adam is spoken of by St. Paul as the author of sin and death as on anything else. It is needless at this date to enter upon the Paul-Magus theory of the Tübingen school. All I need do is to place these covert thrusts at the apostle side by side with the frequent and respectful allusions to the Pauline Epistles that occur scattered up and down the Homilies 1. It is evident that the author had read St. Paul, and that he regarded him as a teacher of the Church, though he resented with some

¹ Many of the passages referred to by Lagarde show only a similarity of vocabulary and turns of expression. But the general result is to prove abundantly that the Epistles of St. Paul were familiar to the Homilist. Let the reader compare in particular the following passages:—Hom. iii. 32 = Rom. iv. 17; Hom. iv. 24 = 1 Cor. xv. 33 (φθείρουσιν ήθη χρηστά δμιλίαι κακαί); Hom. v. 26 = 1 Cor. xiii. 12 (κόσερ ἐν κατόπτρφ); Hom. vii. 3 = 1 Cor. x. 21 (table of devils); Hom. xiii. 18 = 1 Cor. vii. 3 (τὴν ὁφειλομένην εύνοιαν, the text of KL and the Syriac versions; this is not noticed by Lagarde); Hom. xii. 19 = Rom. viii. 22 (this also is not in Lagarde's list). It will be remembered that a direct quotation from St. Paul would be an anachronism. Origen tells us, Contra Celsum, v. 65, that neither of the two Ebionite sects which he distinguishes admitted the Epistles of St. Paul: again, Hom. is Paulm lxxxii apud Eus. H. E. vi. 38, that Elxai τὸν ἀνόστολον τύλεον άθετεί,

fierceness any attempt to set his authority on a level with that of St. Peter. Here again we trace the hand of the convert, who in passing over to his new sect has not been able to divest himself wholly of the reverence, which he had been accustomed to feel for his old master.

IV. We need not dwell at any length either upon the argument against Heathenism, though it has attracted less attention than it deserves. The author has skimmed the cream of the Apologists, and brings out all their best points with considerable skill. What strikes the reader is that the debate has already reached an advanced stage. There is scarcely an allusion to persecution 1, and no allusion at all to the old slanders of disloyalty, child-murder, indecent orgies, and so forth. Many of the topics 2 are of a distinctly late type—that Christians are no better than other men, that a good citizen ought not to abandon the ways of his fathers, but that it is possible to worship the true God and yet pay due respect to inferior deities, just as it is possible to obey a proconsul without disloyalty to Caesar, that idolatry is no degradation because every sensible person distinguishes between the idol and the deity of whom it is merely a visible sign. Another argument in favour of Heathenism that is here attacked is drawn from the cheerfulness of idolatry. Generally speaking the mode in which the debate is conducted points to that time when Heathenism was standing upon its defence. And arguments like these cannot have emanated from the bosom of an obscure Eastern Here again we seem to catch sight of the convert, of one not unfamiliar with the books and conversation of the educated Christian world.

V. It remains for us to gather as accurate an idea as we can of the origin, date, birthplace, and purpose of this singular book. But the reader will not expect me to discuss at ade-

¹ Ep. Clem. ad Jac. 9 τοῖς ἐν φυλακαῖς: ibid. 15, ἀθυμοῦντες, διωκόμενοι, σκορπιζόμενοι, πεινῶντες, διψῶντες, γυμνητεύοντες. Hom. iii. 69, τοῖς ἐν εἰρκταῖς ὡς δυνατὸν βοηθήσετε. Hom. x. 8 οὐκ ἐῶσιν ἡμᾶς τοῦτο ποιῆσαι οἱ τῶν ἐφεστώτων νόμοι. Such phrases afford no indication of date. They may be merely part of the setting of the story.

quate length all the intricate questions that arise. At this point we quit the firm ground of fact for the vague and conjectural. It would be an endless task to examine the endless hypotheses that have been spun about the *Homilies*. Enough will have been done, if I indicate in a general way the conclusions that appear to me most probable.

As to the origin of the main doctrinal system of the Homilies there can indeed be little doubt. The leading ideas are those described by Epiphanius as held, with variations in detail, by a community or group of communities whose principal settlement was in Batanaea and the vicinity, but whose offshoots were to be found in a sporadic way as far west as Cyprus. The region east of Jordan was a hotbed of sects, which crossed and recrossed one another in a way defying accurate classification. Where there are fanaticism and ignorance enough the most minute differences will become a casus belli, and so we have seen that the Homilist, though he insists upon the daily bath, is at daggers drawn with the Hemero-Epiphanius knew more about these people than anybody else, having spent much time in the neighbourhood, but he is not a scientific observer, and they made it a point of conscience to baffle enquiries even by downright lying, as the Druses do still. He calls them Ebionites, and regards this title as derived from the name of Ebion their founder. But it may mean nothing more than 'Poor Men,' voluntary poverty being, as we have seen, an article in their creed 1.

They were historically connected, no doubt, with the Essenes, but here again we are groping in darkness. For what precisely were the Essenes? According to Frankel²

¹ See Epiph. *Heer.* xviii. xxx: and, for the difficulty of accurately distinguishing the names Ebionites, Nasoraei, Nasaraei, Lipsius, Zur Quellenkritik des Epiph.

³ On the subject of the Essenss the reader should consult Lightfoot's Colossions, where all that is known or has been conjectured with respect to this interesting people will be found. Frankel supported his view that the Essens were merely an offshoot of Pharisaism by a host of quotations from the rabbinical books. The late Bishop of Durham has subjected these passages to a searching examination, and arrives at the conclusion that the Talmud

180

they were merely Pharisee ascetics, differing from ordinary Pharisees much in the same way as monks from ordinary Christians. They may well have held all those parts of the doctrine of the Homilies that can be traced in the rabbinical schools, Anthropomorphism, the Two Powers, the union of the masculine and feminine in God. ascetics they would add to this foundation the initiatory oath, the practice of poverty and of abstinence from flesh and wine, and doubtless great importance was attached to the knowledge of the names and attributes of the angels. But the Essenes did not forbid sacrifice, though, as they held that the water of purification was not rightly prepared, they would not set foot in the Temple Courts. They did not however object to send sacrifices to the Temple for others to offer on their behalf. They appear also to have employed allegorism in the interpretation of Scripture, that is to say, to have accepted the whole Jewish Bible, and to have hoped by rigid self-mortification to attain to miraculous gifts, and especially

makes no mention of Essenism at all. Non nostrum tantas decerners lites. Yet may we not venture to think that even if the Bishop is right, Frankel, though wrong in his premisses, must be right in his conclusion? Would it have been possible for the Talmud to pass over in absolute silence a numerous (Philo says there were more than 4000 of them) sect which attracted a good deal of admiration, yet regarded the greater part of Scripture as of diabolical origin, and treated sacrifice as a sin? Josephus (Ant. xviii. 1. 5) is generally understood to mean that they did occasionally send the usual sacrifices to be offered on their behalf in the Temple, though they would not enter the Temple themselves, and Philo's statement (ii. 457, Quod omnis probus liber 12) that they did not sacrifice animals need not be understood as directly contradicting this. They may have done by others what they would not do with their own hands. Again, Philo tells us (ibid. 458) that they were diligent expounders of Scripture, which they treated allegorically (τὰ γὰρ πλείστα διὰ συμβόλων άρχαιοτρόπως ζηλώσει παρ' αὐτοις φιλοσοφείται). This is expressly stated also of the Therapeutae (ii. 483 de vita contemp. 10). Now, if they allegorised, they did not reject the ceremonial law, nor can they have treated sacrifice sans façon as a sin. Yet their isolated life, built as it was on the exaggerated dread of pollution, and allegorism itself, would lead them in this direction, and any violent shock would precipitate this conclusion. Such a crisis might well be produced by the destruction of the Temple, from which accordingly Epiphanius dates the origin of Ebionitism proper,

to revelations in dreams. In these latter points there is a wide difference between their teaching and that of the *Homilies*.

For those Essenes who accepted Christianity a terrible crisis must have come with the destruction of the Temple. Accordingly it is to this date that Epiphanius ascribes the origin of the Ebionites 1. Jews at heart they had been and remained, but the downfall of the Temple broke the last link between them and the Catholic Church, and destroyed at the same time their old Pharisaic belief in the divine origin of the Their previous isolation perhaps compelled, certainly induced them, to interpret this soul-shaking catastrophe not as a transfiguration of the past, but as the divine judgment of condemnation upon it. In the Epistle of Barnabas, the Epistle to Diognetus, the Praedicatio Petri, the Constitutions of the Apostles 2, we find the belief that sacrifice never had been commanded by God, and was in fact a national sin, and this belief must have been current among some Jewish Christians early in the second century. Epiphanius seems to have found it also in the Gospel according to the Hebrews and in the Ascents of James, two books which enjoyed a high authority among the Ebionites. By those who fully accepted this view the Old Testament was necessarily interpreted as it is in the Homilies, and even circumcision and the Sabbath could hardly be insisted upon with the old exclusiveness. Allegorism was cast away, with its evil, but also with its good. The key to the unity of Scripture was lost. Further sympathy with Catholicism was out of the question, and Ebionitism was henceforward a withered branch.

So matters went on until the end of the first or the beginning of the second century, when new convulsions shook the

¹ Haer. xxx. 2.

² Barn. ii. 9; Ep. ad Diog. iii. iv.: Praed. Petri in Clem. Alex. Strom. vi. 5. 41. Irenaeus, iv. 15, distinguishes between the Decalogue, which was of eternal observance, and the ceremonial law imposed after the worship of the calf, which 'in servitutis iugo dominabatur eis.' The Const. App. calls the first νόμος, the second δεντέρωσι, i. 6; ii. 5. The other references are to Epiph. Haer. xix. 3; xxx. 16.

182

minds of men in these secluded districts. A crop of prophets For whether Elxai and Iexai, arose about this time. Marthus and Marthana, were real personages or not, the names are a proof of living agencies that were at work. Hence the book of Elxai, partly perhaps a mere record of existing facts, partly also a new development. Armed and animated by this revelation, the Ebionites awoke from sleep and aimed at nothing less than the conquest of the world. The book of Elxai was carried to Rome by Alexander of Apamea, somewhere about A.D. 220. It contained all that is needed to complete the original system of the Homilies, the Seven Witnesses, the sacrament of salt, the rejection of the Prophets, the Adam-Christ. Apamea, the starting-point of Alexander, was a place where philosophy joined hands gladly with mysticism, and is of importance in the history of Neo-Platonism.

Did Alexander write the *Homilies*? And if not, when, where, by whom, was this singular book composed? These are questions that naturally arise, and to which some kind of answer must be found. But a closer glance into the structure of the work, as it now exists, shows that there is yet another question that must, at any rate, be touched upon, before we can safely embark upon any of these. For the *Homilies* has not come down to us in its original form; and, before we can advance another step, it is necessary to form as accurate a conception as circumstances will allow, of that which preceded and underlies it.

What this was precisely it is most difficult to say, and a full investigation of all the points involved would carry us far beyond the limit of such a paper as this. It will be sufficient perhaps if those conclusions, which may be maintained with some confidence, are briefly stated.

An examination of the *Homilies* itself will demonstrate that there have been two large alterations in the plan of the book. The dispute which Peter holds with Simon Magus at Laodicea was originally represented as held at

Caesarea¹, and the dispute between Clement and Appion is a later addition².

A careful comparison of the *Homilies* with the *Recognitions* tells us something farther. There was an earlier book, which in some points is more closely followed by the *Homilies*³, in others by the *Recognitions*⁴.

Yet again there can be no reasonable doubt that the whole of the *Homilies*, as we now possess it, including the shifting of the Laodicean debate and the addition of the Appion debate, was well known to the author of the *Recognitions*⁵.

- 1 There are many proofs of this. (1) The reappearance of Zacchaeus (xvii. 1), who had been left behind as Bishop at Caesarea; (2) Peter at Caesarea (iii. 10) says that the dispute with Simon wepl μοναρχίας is to be held αύριον. It is not however held till long afterwards at Laodicea. (3) The dispute at Caesarea is said (iii. 58) to last three days. It only lasts one. (4) Peter is said (xvii. 5) to have discoursed about Visions έχθίς. We gather from Recognitions that this discourse was held at Caesarea, but in the present Homilies it comes later on, in Homily xvii. (5) Faustus, the father of Clement, is changed into the shape of Simon Magus (xx. 15) one day after he had recovered his wife and children. But in the present arrangement of the book several days of discussion intervene.
- ³ In Recognitions twelve disciples are sent on from Caesarea to pursue Simon Magus, while Clement, Nicetes, and Aquila remain with Peter. In Homilies Clement, Nicetes, and Aquila are sent in pursuit. The object of this arrangement is obviously to provide a clear field for Clement's dispute with Appion, and avoid the awkwardness of making Peter stand by as a mere spectator. But in Hom. viii. 1-3 we read how Peter was rejoined at Tripolis by the twelve brethren, who had been sent on in advance. Dr. Salmon has noticed also that in the beginning of Hom. xii. it is implied that Clement had never been separated from Peter.
- ³ The Recognitions has departed from the original most distinctly by inserting the long debate on Genesis between Clement and his father (Recogn. ix. The sections 17-29 are from Bardesanes). For in both Hom. xx. 21 and Recogn. x. 63, this dispute is to be held at Antioch between Clement and Anubion.
- ⁴ The simplest proof of this is to be found in Hom. xii. 5 (op. Recogn. vii. 5), where Clement refers to a previous saying of Peter, εἶ τις βούλεταί μοι συνοδεύειν εὐσεβῶν συνοδεύτω. This saying is found, in its proper place, in Recogn. iii. 72, but has disappeared from the Homilies, though there is something like it in Hom. i. 16.
- ⁵ The three most remarkable peculiarities of the *Homilies* are (1) the account of the forged *repuseral* of Scripture, given by Peter at Cassarea; (2) the debate with Appion; (3) the debate on the Evil One at Laodicea. All three are dropped in the *Recognitions*, yet all three were well known to

184

Can we form any reasonably tenable hypothesis which shall reconcile these complicated phenomena? Many answers have been given which the reader, if he is not already acquainted with them, may easily learn for himself. Many as they are, perhaps tolerance may be extended to a new one.

It is this:—that the *Homilies* as we have it, is a recast of an orthodox work by a highly unorthodox editor. The evidence for this conclusion is already before the reader's eye. Why should an Ebionite have pitched upon Clement for his hero? Why should Clement be made to succeed Peter as Bishop of Rome? How can we account for the widespread popularity of the Romance, if it was first launched upon the world under these sinister auspices? Where does the Hierarchy come from, and the Apologetics, and in particular the Appion debate

the author or editor of that book. (1) The account of the forged περικοπαί he excised as destroying the authority of Scripture, and in its place inserted the long historical episode which some have regarded as drawn from the Ascents of James. In this passage the history is carried down to seven years after the Resurrection. But both in the Homilies and in the Recognitions the action of the book takes place in the year after the Resurrection. Again, Recogn. i. 74, Peter winds up the passage with the words 'tum etiam scriptae legis per singula quaeque capitula quorum ratio poscebat secretiorem tibi intelligentiam patefeci.' These words can only be regarded as referring to the forged περικοπαί, which, as has been said, are not discussed at all in Recognitions. Observe further that Thomas is omitted (Recogn. ii. 1) from the list of Peter's companions. The reason for this is to be found in the extract from Bardesanes (Recogn. ix. 29), where we learn that Thomas is preaching the Gospel in Parthia. The two passages were altered at the same time. (2) The debate with Appion is omitted in Recognitions, but it is made large use of in a later passage. Compare Hom. vi. 14, 15 with Recogn. x. 41; Hom. v. 13 with Recogn. x. 22. It does not seem to me capable of any reasonable doubt that the Homilies is here the more original. (3) The discussion on the Evil One is omitted in Recognitions for obvious reasons, vet the most peculiar of the doctrines contained in that discussion are hinted at in scattered phrases. See especially Recogn. ix. 9, where the singular notion of unlucky seasons of generation is enunciated. The mere omission of this discussion brings the chronology of the Recognitions right, so that only one day' intervenes between the recognition of the father of Clement and his magical transformation. But Uhlhorn points out even here a remarkable and conclusive slip in Recognitions x. 52, 'ingressus quidam nunciat Appionem Plistonicensem cum Anubione nuper venisse ab Antiochia et hospitari cum Simone.' This accords with Hom. xx. 11; but as things are narrated in Recognitions, Simon is at this very time at Antioch.

which is written in better Greek by a much clearer brain, and with a more lively fancy than the rest of the *Homilies*? For though where it stands this particular passage is a later addition, there is no reason why it should not have been taken from the same source that had already been laid under contribution. It is highly probable that we have the same phenomenon, the same recurrence to the original, in the *Recognitions* also; and there too, when we get a glimpse of it, the original seems to be more orthodox in tone than the recast.

But it will be asked, Is there any positive evidence of the existence of such an orthodox work? Undoubtedly there is. At a later date we know that there existed a catholic Clementina, which appears to have driven the Homilies out of circulation. It is to this that the Scholiast on Eusebius refers, when he expresses his amazement that any one should find false doctrine in the dialogues of Clement². It was known to Nicephorus, Cedrenus, and Glycas, and the first of these writers tells us that it was 'well received' by the Church³. It is to this probably that Origen refers in the Contra Celsum, when he speaks of the dispute between Clement

¹ It is a somewhat complicated theory, and involves the following propositions:—(1) that the Homilies and the Recognitions presuppose a common Grundschrift; (2) that the author of Homilies (or possibly another writer), dissatisfied with the first form of his own work, went back to this Grundschrift for the debate with Appion; (3) that the author of Recognitions had before him both the Homilies as we possess it and the Grundschrift. This theory, which is Uhlhorn's, seems to be the only one that will reconcile all the phenomena. I differ from Uhlhorn only in thinking that the Grundschrift was in the main a Catholic production.

² On Eus. H. E. iii. 38. 5 (in Heinichen). Eusebius is referring to a book recently published under the name of Clement, and containing 'dialogues of Peter and Appion.' I understand him to mean the Homilies, though in that case his expression is inaccurate, for the dialogue is held between Clement and Appion. Other references to a 'disputatio Petri et Appionis,' I regard as simply based on this careless phrase of Eusebius.

³ Uhlhorn, pp. 51 sqq. The Athanasian Symopsis, written shortly after the death of Athanasius (Bleek), or even later (Uhlhorn), enumerates three books—Περίοδοι Πέτρου, Κλημέντια, ἐξ ἄν μετεφράσθησαν τὰ ἀληθέστερα καὶ θεόπνευστα—and regards the orthodox Clementina as a recast of the Hom. or Recogn. In my opinion it was the other way about.

and his father at Laodices on the subject of astrology. For though this dispute is found in the Recognitions, it is demonstrably an addition there, and may be, probably is, one of those recurrences to the original already spoken of 1. In the Comm. on Genesis, again, Origen quotes as from book xiv. of Clement of Rome, a passage substantially agreeing with Rec. x. 10-122. We see here that the book to which he is referring differed from the Recognitions in arrangement. Again, in the Comm. on Matthew, he cites from the same source words to the effect that 'good works profit the infidel in this life, but not in the life to come 3.' In the Recognitions and in the Homilies the same opinion is enunciated, but as regards works of chastity alone. Origen's authority therefore differed from both, and it is surely impossible that he should have made use of either of these most singular books without a word to put the reader on his guard. Again, Jerome tells us that the *Periodi* of Clement represented Peter as bald, and as having a daughter. He too says nothing about the general character of this book, which can therefore hardly have been violently unorthodox. And neither statement about Peter is found in the Homilies or in the Recognitions. It is this same book, we may believe, that is referred to also in the Constitutiones Apostolicae⁵. Surely the writer there cannot be making use of the Homilies in the very passage where he represents Peter as declaring so emphatically that Christians did not regard their Lord as 'a mere man,' as 'a holy man and prophet.'

¹ The reference is to *Philocolia* xxii. ad fis. But I now notice, on a closer inspection, that the concluding sentences of this chapter of *Philoc.* are not from the *Colsus*. Doubtless they were added by the editors Basil and Gregory Nazianzen.

³ In Gen. Comm. iii. 14 (Lomm. viii. 41).

³ In Matt. Comm. Series 77 (Lomm. iv. 401). Uhlhorn thinks that Origen is quoting the other edition of Recognitions known to Businus.

⁴ Hieron. adv. Jovinianum 15 (ed. Martian. iv. 118); Comm. ad Gal. i. 18 (ed. Martian. ii. 235).

⁵ Const. App. vi. 8. Lagarde (Preface, p. 8) thinks that the Homilist made use of the Constitutions.

What this orthodox Clementina included it is difficult to say with precision. In the Const. App. St. Peter tells us how he held a three days' discussion with Simon Magus at Caesarea surrounded by the same followers who appear in the Homilies, Zacchaeus, Barnabas, 'and Nicetes and Aquila, brothers of Clement the Roman Bishop and citizen.' Nothing is said of the father and mother or the reunion of the family, but it is surely implied. Nothing is said either of any discussion except that at Caesarea, but this is an omission that may be accounted for. The story went on to tell how Peter pursued Simon Magus to Rome, how there Simon attempted to fly through the air in the theatre, how at Peter's prayer his magical powers deserted him, so that he fell to the ground and was killed. This contest in Rome was known to the editors of the Homilies and Recognitions, though they do no more than allude to it. But both books are, on their own showing, based on an original that gave more of the story than they do. For in both we are promised a debate on Genesis between Clement and Anubion at Antioch which never comes In the Constitutiones Apostolicae the debate at Caesarea lasts three days, as it does in the Recognitions, and ought to do but does not in the Homilies. But in the Constitutions the subjects are (είς τον περί προφήτου λόγον και περί θεοῦ μοναρχίαs) Christ as the Prophet or subject of Prophecy, and Gnosticism. Both are treated of in a very peculiar way in the Homilies, Gnosticism alone in the Recognitions. But just in this passage it so happens that we can show with tolerable certainty that the author of the Recognitions was acquainted with the Homilies, that he turned away from the Homilies, and that he reverted to an older authority. For he has dropped the Homilist's teaching about the forged Scriptures, and introduced in its place a long historical episode, ruining his own chronology by doing so. And he has taken from his other authority a fine argument against Gnostic Ecstasy, which we know that the author of the Homilies must have found in this place. It is probable then that the orthodox Clementina, in

188

its Caesarean section, contained the Christian argument from Prophecy, and a discussion on general and philosophic grounds of the leading topics of Gnosticism. Besides this, we are pretty certain that it contained the debate on Mythology between Clement and Appion, which has been thrust into the Homilies as an afterthought with some damage to the framework of that book. In addition, it possibly recorded a discussion between Clement and Anubion at Antioch. Beyond this it would be dangerous to venture, but any one who reads the curious farrago described in the foregoing pages, where the oil of civilised orthodoxy and the water of fantastic Ebionitism meet, but do not blend, will be able to form a pretty accurate opinion as to the source of each of these elements.

The date of the orthodox Clementina must not be fixed too early. It contained the Clement legend, which is not much older than Tertullian, and the argument against Heathenism is, as we have noticed, of a late type. On the other hand, it must be placed before the middle age of Origen. We shall not go far wrong if we assume it to have come into existence not much before and not much after 200 A.D. It was seized upon, altered and adapted by an Ebionite, probably a convert to Ebionitism, at a later time, we do not know when, but shortly before Eusebius wrote his History.

Can we fix the date of this recasting with more exactness? It is not easy to throw any clear light on this question. The author adhered with great strictness to his plan, and except the New Testament quotations and a reference to the worship of Antinous in Egypt², there is no distinct anachronism. There are, however, two points that may help us, one arising from the doctrine of Baptism, another from the Christology, both connected with the distinctively Ebionite portion of the Homilies.

It was by no accident that Alexander of Apamea set out for Rome at the time that he did. Every Oriental quack, as

¹ Uhlhorn, p. 57.

Juvenal tells us, made his way to the banks of the Tiber sooner or later. But the time was peculiarly favourable for his new Gospel. Elagabalus had just built a grand temple to the god from whom he derived his name, and was anxious above all things to attract to that shrine the devotion of 'Jews and Samaritans¹.' In 222 Alexander Severus ascended the throne and placed the bust of Christ in his Lararium side by side with Apollonius, Abraham, Orpheus, and others, Clearly there was an opening for the Apamean here. He might reasonably look for his share of imperial patronage and imperial gold. And if we glance at the state of Catholicism in Rome at that time, we shall discern yet another reason that may have operated as a magnet. For at this very juncture the Church was agitated by those hot disputes on the subject of Penance which first emerged in Hermas and culminated in the Novatian schism. In the early days of Alexander Severus the contest was raging with intense heat. Callistus (possibly carrying on the policy of his predecessor Zephyrinus) had declared that absolution should not be refused to those who after baptism had been guilty of sins of impurity, on condition of course of repentance and submission to discipline. consequence of this lenity appears to have been a temporary disruption of the Church, and the elevation of Hippolytus as the first Anti-pope. It would be in the midst of this storm that Alexander of Apamea arrived in Rome, bringing with him his new gospel, the volume which had been dictated to Elxai among the Seres of Parthia by an angel ninety-six miles high. The particular article of this revelation on which he relied for success was a Baptism which washed away all, even the most hideous sins, without any discipline or penance at all 2. Such an improvement on the terms of Callistus might be expected to win over many of the looser Christians, and was not unlikely to prove a tempting inducement to Pagans of the reformed school, who were familiar enough with the idea of expiatory lustrations, and would be rather attracted

¹ Lampridius, Ant. Hel. 3.

^{*} Hom, xi. 26, 27.

190

than repelled by those concomitants that seem to us, as they seemed to Hippolytus, so senseless and degrading, the astrology, the oath of secrecy, the incantations for use against the bite of a mad dog. What success befel Alexander we do not know, but it is likely enough that he made converts, and by one of them, or indeed by himself, we might suppose, without absurdity, that the *Homilies* had been manufactured as a popular exposition of the new creed.

Nevertheless this does not commend itself as the most plausible supposition. We have no reason to think that the book was ever known at Rome. Such indications as we can gather point rather to the Levant as its birthplace. A case might be made out for Egypt, when we consider that the name of Clement of Rome was highly respected in that country, that many of the ideas of the *Homilies* were familiar to Clement of Alexandria¹, and that the author displays considerable acquaintance with Egyptian lore. 'I could show,' he says in one place 'the absurdity of Egyptian allegorism if I were there².' Is not this exactly how a romancer would write if he actually was there? Notice again that the number of priests attached to a Bishop is always twelve, as at Alexandria,

¹ For instance, that the Demons έξείπον τὰ ἀπόρρητα ταῖε γυναιξίν, Strom. v. 1. 10: the distinction between electr and spolerers of God is held by some of ours,' Strom. ii. 22. 13: certain hereties have raised the question, notepor τέλειος επλάσθη ο 'Αδάμ ή άτελής; Strom. vi. 12, 96: μή τούνω λεγόντων des δ άδικών και άμαρτάνον κατ' ένέργειαν δαιμόνον πλημμελεί, Strom. vi. 12. 98: αί κτήσεις γάρ και χρήσεις τών άναγκαίων οδ τήν ποιότητα έχουσι βλαβεράν άλλά την παρά το μέτρον ποσότητα, Strom. vi. 12, 99: Anthropomorphism is an άθεος έφορία, Strom. vi. 12. 114; 16. 136. The juxtaposition of the last four points suggests that Clement had in view some system in which all were maintained. Again, Strom. vi. 9. 72, by virtue of rous man is secutifs, God is άνθρωποειδής. παρ' δ καί οί els άνθρωπον άμαρτάνοντες ανόσιοί τε καί ασεβείς. So the Homilies base the obligation of justice and charity on the existence of the Divine Image in man. Common to Clement and the Homilies are the phrase έβδομάδος μυστήριον Hom. xvii. 9; Strom. iv. 17. 109; vi. 14. 108, and certain Scriptural quotations of a peculiar cast, notably, γίνεσθε δόκιμοι τραπεζίται and μυστήριον έμον έμοι, Hom. xix. 20; Strom. v. 10. 63. The last is from Theodotion's translation of Isaiah xxiv. 16, but is taken by Clement from 'a certain Gospel.'

² Hom. x. 18.

and that the author rather goes out of his way to inform us that the gospel was first preached in the Egyptian capital not by Mark but by Barnabas. Yet I doubt if he would have spoken of want of rain as one of God's judgments upon sin in the rainless land of Egypt 1, or if he would have mentioned Alexandria only as the place where Simon Magus was indoctrinated in the black art if he had himself been a student in the Museum. Upon the whole it seems more likely that the author lived in some Greek-speaking part of Syria. He cannot have been an inhabitant of any properly Hellenic region, for he tell us that 'the rustics were unacquainted with Greek mythology 2.' But he surely lived within sight of the sea, or he would never have insisted with such earnestness on the efficacy of Baptism in salt water. And if he were not himself a Syrian it would be difficult to account for the curious Syriac words that occur, though but rarely, in his Greek 3.

But there is still one point remaining which is more decisive than any other as to the date of his work. He considers, as we have seen above, with particular care the question whether and in what exact sense the Son may be called Homoousian with the Father, and ends by concluding that in one sense He is, and in another is not of the same substance. His substance is that of the first change of God, and in this attenuated sense the Son is Homoousian, though not equal in power or in dignity to the Father. Can it be believed that this passage, which there is no reason whatever to regard as a later addition, was written before the days of the Arian controversy? The most reasonable conclusion, in face of this remarkable passage,

¹ Hom. xi. 13. ² Hom. iv. 19.

³ μαφόριον, xiii. 16, xv. 5. See Lagarde's note, and Ducange or Dict. Christian Antiquities, s. v. Mafors; laμμηνοί, ii. 1, the descriptive epithet added to the names of Ananias and Aggaeus among the companions of Peter: perhaps = DYDNY which, according to Lévy, signifies 'Jemand der, obgleich nicht dem Gelehrtenbunde gehörend, dennoch beglaubigt ist dass er die Priester und Levitergaben entrichte.' This list of names contains other titles which may have an ecclesiastical signification: thus οἰκοδόμοι, applied to Rubilus and Zacharias, may mean 'learned men,' and the unmeaning ἐταῖροι, used of Nicetes and Aquila, may be 'doctors.'

192

appears to be that the *Homilies* was made up by recasting the orthodox *Clementina* at some early period in the fourth century. There is nothing in the work itself that can be alleged with confidence in favour of any earlier date, unless it be the peculiar character of the Gospel quotations, many of which diverge from the canonical text, while eight are not to be found in our canonical Gospels. But these facts do not necessarily point to an early origin in the case of a work in other ways so alien from Catholic tradition. If we suppose that we have in the present *Homilies* the production of an Arian Christian of Syriac nationality, who fancied that he found in Ebionitism a solution of the great problem—a historical and quasi-philosophical doctrine of the Arian Saviour—we should not perhaps go far wrong. And nowhere could such a man be looked for with more prospect of success than in Antioch ¹.

But after all, what is most important in this singular book is neither its authorship, its exact date, nor its exact birthplace, but the light that it throws upon the origin of Gnosticism (an interesting point which space has compelled me to omit) and upon the fate of those Jewish communities which refused to cast in their lot with the Catholic Church. They maintained themselves in some sort of vitality down to Mahommedan times, and traces of their influence are to be discovered in Islam and among the Druses. The reason why they failed to exercise any wider or higher influence will be obvious enough to readers of these pages. When the Light of the World had arisen they turned aside after the marsh-fires of an idle antiquated mysticism and a gross and barbarous superstition and so fell deeper and deeper into the mire. A Mahommedan writer of the tenth century 2, to whom we owe a later glimpse of them, speaks of them as dwelling in the fens between the Arabian desert, the Euphrates, and the Tigris, passing farther

¹ The peculiar Judaic heresy of the Colossians, which was probably connected with Ebionitism, lingered on in that district as late as the Council of Laodicea.—Lightfoot, Col. p. 63.

² See Lightfoot, Colossians, p. 403; Hilgenfeld, Novum Testamentum extra Canonem Receptum, ii. p. 231.

and farther from the civilisation of the West, and shrouding themselves ever more impenetrably in swamps and fogs. Readers of Mr. Gordon's Life 1 will find an interesting but unsatisfactory notice of the Soobies of Baghdad, who appear (if the conjecture may be hazarded) to be the last wrecks of the followers of Elxai. But little can be gathered from the account of Mr. Gordon, except that the enquirer is still encountered, as he was in the days of Epiphanius, with studied and deceitful reserve.

¹ George Maxwell Gordon, by Rev. A. Lewis. Seeley and Co. 1889. pp. 183 sqq.



.

.

V.

THE EVIDENCE OF THE EARLY VERSIONS AND PATRISTIC QUOTATIONS ON THE TEXT OF THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT 1.

[LL. J. M. BEBB.]

It is unnecessary, at the present time, to uphold the general proposition that Versions and patristic quotations have a value in determining the date and text of the books of the New Testament. Any one who denied it would be setting himself in opposition to the views of textual critics of every school. The first outcry which greeted the result of Mill's work in reference to the Versions, and Fell's in reference to the Fathers, has been changed into a chorus of approval, if not of the results, at any rate of the principles which guided them. But though the general proposition has been granted, there is still much divergence of opinion as to the amount of importance to be attached to the evidence of individual Fathers and Versions, and the conditions under which it is possible to draw sound inferences as to the Greek text which lay before them.

Two circumstances tend greatly to enhance the value of Versions and patristic quotations: the first is the comparative lateness of the manuscripts which are, of course, our chief authorities for the text of the Greek Testament; the second

Part of the Ellerton Prize Essay for 1888, printed with the leave of the Examiners. The limits imposed by the conditions of this Prize prevented the writer from giving more than a few illustrations of the various possibilities of error which may occur in the use of Versions and patristic quotations. Since the essay was first written nothing has been added except some references.



196 The Evidence of the Early Versions

is the abundantly demonstrable fact that simultaneously with the very origin of theological literature, we find such an amount of textual corruption that we can ill afford to dispense with any evidence which may help us to separate the accretions from the original text of the New Testament.

There are many points to be settled before we can be sure that we have this varied evidence in the form in which it can be safely used for purposes of textual criticism.

The first which demands consideration is how far that which passes current as the work of a Father or translator really corresponds to its original condition. We must, that is, know the critical value of our printed editions. This will be ascertained by comparing them with the manuscript authorities from which they are professedly derived. We must then examine those authorities, and see how far they have suffered: to what changes, intentional or unintentional, they have been subjected, in the course of time, by any of the many hands through which they have passed.

It is by no means unnecessary to subject our printed editions to some such scrutiny, because many of them date from a time when close adherence to the best manuscripts, or groups of manuscripts, was not regarded as the first duty of an editor, and when the materials for a critical edition were not so numerous, or so accessible as they have since become. The Peshitto will afford many instances of passages introduced by editors from general considerations, without any manuscript authority. While the first editor of the version, Widmanstadt (1555), adhered to manuscript authority, Tremellius¹, who followed him, inserted in the text the doubtful part of Matthew xxvii. 35, and in the margin a translation from Latin sources of I John v. 7, which Gutbir (1664) put into the text. These were kept in the well-known edition of Schaaf (1709) as well as Acts viii. 37, xv. 34, and xxviii. 29.

The largest insertion is that of the Perikope Adulterae in

¹ It is only fair to add that this was done from a belief that the MS. sent from the East and used by Widmanstadt was defective.

the London Polyglot edition of Walton from a manuscript which belonged to Ussher¹.

Attention should also be drawn to the fact that the Syriac Version of the four minor Catholic Epistles and Revelation bound up with the Peshitto, formed no part of the original That of the Catholic Epistles (2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and Jude) is probably one of the few relics of the Philoxenian recension made by Polycarp at the beginning of the sixth century. It is 'distinct from the Harklensian rendering of the same Epistles, which however is unmistakeably founded on it 2.' The translation of the Apocalypse Dr. Gwynn on internal evidence believes to be part of the later revision of Thomas of Harkel (A.D. 616). This internal evidence consists in (1) its graecizing character, (2) the use of asterisks, (3) the marginalia3. At any rate there is no doubt that, though printed with the Peshitto, the critical value is not the same as in other parts of the New Testament, and therefore it is rightly referred to with a different notation.

Again in the edition of the Armenian Version made by Uscan (1668), he confesses to having introduced several passages from the Latin without any manuscript authority, as for instance, John v. 4, John vii. 53-viii. 11, 1 John v. 7. From such errors the later critical edition of Zohrab (1805) is free.

Somewhat similar, though not so heinous an editorial blunder, was the translation into Ethiopic from Greek MSS. and the Vulgate, of the *lacunae* in the Ethiopic MS. used for the edition of 1548, printed at Rome 4.

¹ The Syriac version of this section was first published by De Dieu in 1631 from a MS, lent him by Ussher, and probably Walton used De Dieu's text. Its history has been worked out by Dr. Gwynn, Trans. Irish Acad. vol. xxvii.

² Gwynn in *Dict. Christ. Biogr.* iv. 432-3, and *l. c.* p. 29 ff. Cp. also Ridley, *De Vers. Syr. Indole*, p. 298 [the paging is that of the German edition]; Adler, *Vers. Syr.* p. 78.

² Id. Dict. Christ. Biogr. iv. 1020-1 (where the literature on the point is given), and L.c. pp. 32, 35.

⁴ C. B. Michaelis, Tract. Crit. p. 32.

196

The Emilian Francisco IÇÃ

is th the am. Wit tic

tl

ŀ

There can be as a win about the prince of the second of Villate, to which we have seen story a production of the other Versions, is semestive that in the said it left Jerome's habita. Here make a detrimental to the minimum of the line There exists to the existence of the previous Law Vision side by side with his for at any me two among the and Your-land for the first part of that time with some and and it is difficult to separate the two. Frames that this made fered very much in transmission as we it is mur lidden Correctoria from the thirteenin contra contra Of the further element of uncertainty in recipeed by the revision of Alcuin, owing to his use of Greek and Strike manuscripts, mention will be made later. Thereis the inculties are thus great, it will be possible to approximate me more closely to Jerome's work than the text of 1562, 201207red by Clement, which passes current as the Unicaie.

Nor have the editions of the Fathers fared much better. and in the e the Biblical quotations (with which we are here concerned) have generally been the first part of the work to utiler. We are helped no doubt when the editors give us their nuthorities, even though they naively confess that they tellow previous editors rather than manuscript authority. In the metunee quoted from Irenneus, iv. 37-5. Stieren 3 gives 2 tending which, so far as he knew, had no MS. authority. It v. often his plan, whatever the manuscript authority, to conform his rending to the Itala column of Sabatier's work. What the state of Chrysostom's printed text was in his

Not till the ninth century was its victory assured. Walafr. Strabo pract. plane and cated by Fritzehe in Herzog's Real-Encyclopadie, viii. 448), says. Hieranian translation name alique utilur tota ceclesia Romana, licet non in dunielins libras.

Green Mann Pref. in dale) at comprobationis causa exigit, wanc words pune reterem per testimonia assumo (quoted by Fritzsche, l. c.).

Cp. for instance, Stieren's Irenacus, i. 696 alas] sie scripsi cum plurimis April 1 and Mann, a cond. Chromons, i. 696 alax] sie scripsi cum plurimis ant asselis; Arund. ascellis. Daniel legit ascellas. In Codd. Voss. cf. Vol. Apth asselis; Arand, assellis, But i. 520, note 8, he deserts a previous

homilies on St. Paul's Epistles, before Field edited it, may be seen in the preface to his edition 1, where he says that, there being two recensions of text, one easier, the other harder. Savile (the first editor) combined them. Instances of previous editors accommodating the biblical quotations to the ordinary text against the authority of the MSS. are given by Field in his edition of Chrysostom's Homilies on St. Matthew². The same complaint of editors preferring their own judgment to the authority of the MSS. is mentioned by Dean Burgon³ with reference to Cyril of Jerusalem. Some of the Fathers have been satisfactorily edited in such a way that, though the acquisition of fresh material may make it necessary to supplement what has been done, the work will not require to be re-done. But the continued outcry 4 for critical editions of the Fathers and Versions shows that much remains to be done before we have the materials properly before us on which textual criticism is to work.

But in some cases the manuscripts necessary for such editions may not be forthcoming, and of course the value of our conclusions will be considerably depreciated if we cannot be sure we have the original work before us. Deficiency of MS. evidence is a common complaint among the editors, as may be seen by the references given to Otto, Hefele, and Potter, by Blunt⁵. It is where MSS. are numerous and

- ¹ Bibl. Patr. Ozon. p. xiii; but Savile's edition compares very favourably with the Benedictine edition of Montfaucon; op. Lagarde, Ankündigung, p. 50.
- ² In Chrysostom's quotation (Hom. xliv) of Luke xxii. 35-38 όμοίως is omitted by the MSS., inserted by the editors; p. 589, in the quotation of Luke xi. 27, 28, the editors substitute κοιλία for γαστήρ.
- ² Last Twelve Verses, p. 261. Dean Burgon quotes De Touttée's admission that he inserted εὐδοκίας into Cyril's quotation of Luke ii. 14, though he found εὐδοκία in the text.
- ⁴ E. g. Holtzmann, Einleitung, p. 49; Scrivener, Introduction, etc., p. 419. For Versions, cp. Lagarde, Anmerkungen, etc., p. 2. The preparation of critical editions of the Vulgate (of which the first fasciculus has appeared) and Peshitto at Oxford, and of the Septuagint at Cambridge, shows that the need has been realized. The Vienna Corpus is also remedying the defect as far as the Latin Fathers are concerned.
- Use of the Fathers, p. 68; op. Hatch, Essays in Biblical Greek, p. 188 ff., as to Justin Martyr.

200 The Evidence of the Early Versions

divided in their evidence that the work of the editor becomes difficult, though an inductive examination will show what manuscript or group of MSS. is to be followed. The MSS. of Cyprian will illustrate this, but it is unfortunate that Hartel in his edition for the Vienna Corpus seems to have followed the wrong group for the Testimonia. Where manuscripts are few, as in the case of Irenaeus, it may have been because the work was not in great request 1, and in such a case transcriptional errors are correspondingly few 2, and the lateness of our manuscripts less important. Where our existing manuscripts are derived from one Archetype, as is proved by common lacunae to be the case with the four MSS. of the Greek text of Origen's Commentaries both on St. Matthew³ and St. John⁴; or where, as in the case of the Curetonian Version, we have only one extant manuscript, there is no means of correcting errors which may have come in during transmission. Equally important is it that we should bear in mind the channels through which our quotations come. The value of Origen's quotations is depreciated by the consideration that much comes through Cramer's Catena, where the text is full of obvious blunders, and requires a fresh collation of manuscripts 5. The same fact is noticed by Lipsius of Irenaeus 6, whose Greek text has to be recovered piecemeal from the author of the Philosophumena, Epiphanius, Theodoret, Eusebius, and others, and has therefore been subjected to considerable dangers. It is exceptional to have extant manuscripts so near the time of the writer as that of John Damascene assigned by Tischendorf to the same century as the original?

¹ Gregory the Great describes his difficulty in getting a copy, and the preface to Cod. A describes it as perrarus. Journal of Philology, xvii. 85.

² Even a much-used work like the Peshitto may keep comparatively free from errors of this kind; cp. Mr. Gwilliam in Studia Biblica (1st series), p. 161, and Cornill, Das Buck des Propheten Exechiel.

Dict. of Christian Biography, iv. 111-2. 4 Ib. 114. 5 Ib. 118.

⁶ Ib. s. v. Irenaeus.

⁷ Tisch. Nov. Test. (8th edition), p. xvi, cited as Dam^{par cod.} Professor Rendel Harris, Fragments of Philo, p. xi ff., shows that these 'Parallels' have only a very slight connection with John Damascene, and are really an earlier

the Wolfenbüttel MS. of Chrysostom, cited as Chrys^{gue}, and ascribed to the sixth century. However, as we shall see later, age is no certain criterion of value.

But, though there are such difficulties as have been described to be met, it is possible by the help of available authorities to remove many errors which can be proved with more or less certainty to have come in during transmission, and therefore formed no part of the original text.

Firstly must be noticed obvious scribes' errors in the language of the Versions, misreadings of the Greek being reserved (till we come to consider the value on internal evidence of the several authorities), as dating from the time when the Version was made.

Thus the variants iuncla and vincta which we find in Augustine 1 for δέδεται (Rom. vii. 2), correptio and correctio for νουθεσία (I Cor. xii), and possibly also curiosae and otiosae for περίεργοι (I Tim. v. 13), are cases in point. To this may be ascribed the variant misteriorum for ministeriorum (Ambr. de Sacr. 6) at I Cor. xii. 14. Another instance, important as illustrating the perpetuation of error, is the reading quidem for quidam (τινες) at I Cor. vi. 11, where Cyprian (Test. ii. 65) is followed by Ambrose and Augustine.

From the Peshitto we may quote the reading can to at 2 Tim. iv. 10 for Κρήσκης; here a Syriac manuscript reads can to, perhaps followed by the Arabic (see Tisch. ad loc.). These variants are clearly due to the confusion of and a. Two other instances are given by Michaelis² from 2 Pet. ii. 17, 18, where the Erpenian Arabic (here a secondary version) makes it probable that the probable that translates ψπό λαίλαπος, is a mistake for the poyκa, is a mistake for laughter), by which it translates ψπέρογκα, a mistake for laughter).

An instance from the Curetonian ³ may be found at Matthew collection which he may possibly have re-arranged. He shows also, ib. p. xxi, that Tischendorf (l. c.) was mistaken in identifying the MS. with Cod. Rup.

¹ Cp. Ziegler, Die lateinischen Ribelübersetzungen, etc., p. 71 n.

² Marsh's Michaelis, ii. p. 20. ³ Baethgen, Evangelienfragmente, p. 8.

Another class of errors, which may have an important bearing on the various readings, springs from the tendency of scribes, consciously or unconsciously, to make the text of biblical quotations in the work before them agree with that most familiar to them. It is pointed out by Ziegler², that the monks, to whose labours we are largely indebted for the multiplication at any rate of Greek and Latin manuscripts, were familiar with the Vulgate readings, and so we find a great tendency to substitute these for the readings of the manuscript before them, and to destroy peculiar readings. We should expect something of this kind to happen, but we have also abundant and indisputable proofs of it. Thus Barnabas, chap. ii, quotes from Ps. li. 19, and adds words not found in our Bible, but given in the same connection by Irenaeus (iv. 17. 2) and Clement of Alexandria (Str. ii. 18). Most MSS. give the addition correctly, but L 3 substitutes for the unusual words the continuation as found in the LXX. Similarly in chap. v, L (this time with other authorities) alters an important quotation from Zech. xiii. 7 to suit Mat. xxii. 14. In chap. vi, L omits a part of a quotation from Ps. cxvii. 24 to suit the LXX, and alters Is. xxviii. 16 with the same object 4. This phenomenon is, however, as has been above noticed, most

¹ De Novo Test. ad fidem, etc., p. 3.

² Loc. cit. p. 71.

L = 'Latinus interpres.'

⁴ Cp. also Polyc. ad Phil. i. 2, where the quotation from I Pet. i. 12 is altered to suit the ordinary text of the New Testament (Funk, Patr. Apost. i. 267, n.).

frequently illustrated by alterations of the quotations in the Latin Fathers from Irenaeus (Lat.) and Cyprian downwards. In Cyprian we may refer to Hartel's Prolegomena, p. xxiv, where general reference to the fact is made; in Ep. 55. 18 we ought to read suffragatorem in the quotation from I John ii. I, and not justum, as is read by Hartel's text, following the Vulgate. So in Test. iii. 95 Hartel follows the wrong group of MSS. (AW) in giving the Vulgate rendering of 1 Cor. xv. 33, Corrumpunt mores bonos colloquia mala, instead of (with LMB) Corrumpunt ingenia bona confabulationes pessimae, a quotation especially liable to this kind of alteration, being a proverb in constant use. Instances might be multiplied from the apparatus criticus of the Testimonia, where on nearly every page one or more MSS, have been thus corrupted. From Augustine we get another illustration; at Rom. v. 16 he expressly rejects the reading αμαρτήματος, and six times we accordingly find the other reading per unum peccantem; but Ep. 157. 20, per unum peccatum (Vulg.); so in the de Natura et Gratia we get desiderium, Rom. i. 24 (Vulg.), but six times elsewhere concupiscentia (Vet. Lat.). To this cause are probably to be attributed the numerous cases of discrepancy between the text given in a Father, and the commentary on the text 1. Thus in Iren. iv. 13. 1, Stieren notices that although sine caussa is inserted in the quotation from Mat. v. 22, Irenaeus' argument assumes its omission, and so he concludes (i. 595, n. 5), a scribis itaque . . . addita videtur, sicut et in latinam Vulgatam irrepsit. In Jerome such cases are particularly numerous, thus at Mat. xxi. 31 he notes that the vera exemplaria have primus, in his commentary we find novissimus. Westcott on St. John x. 16 gives another instance. He quotes Jerome as approving the rendering of aὐλή by atrium rather than ovile, and yet we find the latter in the Vulgate text.

The clearest proof of such a corruption is in two Munich

¹ Wetstein, Animadrersiones et Cautiones, pp. 86-7, 90.

manuscripts of the *Enchiridion* referred to by Ziegler¹, in one of which the old Latin quotations are crossed out, and written in above we find the Vulgate text, while in the second (Cod. 6283 Lat.) the Vulgate has been substituted in the actual quotations and the Old Latin has disappeared.

Somewhat similar, in the case of Versions, is the correction of one Version by another later one, or by Greek manuscripts. It differs from the last kind of corruption in being intentional and editorial, while the last often must have been involuntary. Both alike are damaging to the critical value of the work so corrected. In some cases we have definite historical statements of such treatment; in others, we infer it from the text under examination, but in such cases there is need of caution, lest we attribute to subsequent correction resemblances which existed from their origin in the two works compared, and are due to common ancestry. We have definite statements of the use of Greek MSS. in the Harklensian Version², and in Alcuin's revision of the Vulgate (A.D. 801) by the help of Greek and Syriac manuscripts 3. There are probably few Versions which have not been affected by the Latin Versions. We have already 4 seen traces of this in the printed editions of the Armenian and Ethiopic. The Gothic has perhaps also been affected, while as to the Arabic Versions there is a division of opinion. The close agreement between the Latin and Syriac Versions is a case in which caution is needed; the Syriac Version seems comparatively free from such correction by Latin authorities, and the accusations of Latinizing made by Michaelis 5 and Wetstein (who on this account refers it to the seventh century 6) are explanations of an agreement which

¹ Ziegler, Die lat. Bibelübersetzungen, etc. p. 73.

² Dict. of Christ. Biogr. iv. 1017, s. v. Polycarp.

³ Fritzsche, l. c. p. 449; but cp. Porson, Letters to Travis, p. 145. Such revision, though recorded, is more than doubtful.

⁴ Cp. p. 197.

b Curae in Vers. Syr. Act. Apost. pp. 168-9. Cp. Lagarde, De N. T. ad fidem Orient. Vers. Edendo, p. 5.

⁶ As the Abbé Martin does the Curetonian, notwithstanding the date of the MS.

is due to derivation from the same early authorities ¹. The Latin Versions ² have in some cases been corrected by Greek manuscripts, and unfortunately it is a very difficult matter to ascertain the extent to which Jerome used his Greek manuscripts ³, and recover from the Vulgate, as Bentley hoped to do, the pure Greek text of the end of the fourth century. A striking instance of the depreciation from this cause of what would have otherwise been a most valuable authority in the Old Testament is the *Codex Ambrosianus*, the oldest manuscript of the Peshitto, which on examination is found to have been corrected to the Massoretic text ⁴.

Besides changes of the above kind, which are of the greatest importance, reference has to be made to changes, of less importance in regard to the Greek text, though they are extremely useful in determining the relative age of Versions in the same language, and therefore of great indirect value. Of this kind are formal changes introduced by the removal of solecisms, and hard or ungrammatical constructions or connections, and the substitution of ordinary words and phrases: thus from the Old Latin, Fritzsche 5 instances the changes in Luke i. 49, ii. 35, and vi. 35 of magnalia into magna, framea into gladius, and nequam into malos. Such corrections would naturally be frequent in a Version which was originally verborum tenacior, but they are also found in the Peshitto, and such grammatical changes are noticed by Mr. Gwilliam 6 as being for the most part the only differences between the manuscripts of the Peshitto, the text having been otherwise transmitted without much alteration.

Having taken into consideration the three kinds of changes that may have come into our authorities during transmission—viz. (i) Scribes' errors in the language of the Version or

¹ See below, p. 232.

² Old Latin Bibl. Texts, ii. 96.

³ Burgon, The Revision Revised, p. 449.

⁴ Cornill, l. c. p. 145. His estimate is criticized by Rahlfs (Zeits. f. alt. Wissenschaft, 1889, ii. p. 180 ff.).

⁵ In Herzog, Real-Encyclopädie, viii. 438, where many illustrations are given.

⁶ Studia Biblica, 1st series, p. 161.

Father; (ii) corruptions to suit a familiar text, or adaptations to other authorities; (iii) formal changes in style and diction—we come now to consider points for which the original author or writer, and the inevitable circumstances of the case are responsible, which cause a difficulty in getting at the underlying Greek text.

Firstly, we cannot always argue to omissions in the Greek text, because we find omissions in the Versions or patristic quotations. Such omissions may be due to the difficulty of the original Greek. Jerome (quoted by Burgon) notices this at 1 Cor. vii. 35¹. Of course where transliteration was regarded as allowable in translation, this argument does not so forcibly apply ². To the difficulty of the word may be due the omission of δευτεροπρώτφ at Luke vi. 1 in the many Versions quoted by Scrivener. Similarly in the Peshitto at Acts xix. 28 ἀγοραῖοι ἄγουται does not appear, and at James i. 23 πρόσωπου γευέσεωs appears simply as • • • • • (πρόσωπου), though this may have been considered enough.

Again, things which seem to the translator irrelevant or tautological disappear. Thus Mill in his Prolegomena³ notices the following omissions of this kind from the Peshitto: at Mat. xii. 5 τοῖς σάββασι is omitted where τὸ σάββατον βεβηλοῦσι follows, in Mark xiv. 68 οὕτε οῖδα οὕτε ἐπίσταμαι appears simply as μὶ τω μ, and similar instances are given from Mark ix. 43, and Luke xvii. 23, xix. 43. Winer gives a list of typical omissions from the Peshitto, which includes superfluous words of time or action, as for example εὐθέως, ἰδού, εἶτα, πάλιν, τότε, and λαβών, λέγων, εἰσελθών, ἀναστάς, and the like. The construction, particularly characteristic of St. Luke, καὶ ἐγένετο . . . καί, disappears at least nine times, though it is found sometimes as at Mat. xi. 1: this is the more

¹ He says (Vallarsi, ii. 261) In Latinis codicibus ob difficultatem translationis hoc penitus non invenitur.

² Cp. LXX passim. Thus the Harklensian (quoted by Ridley, l.c. p. 295) gives at St. John v. 2 Local Local.

Page 594.

⁴ G. B. Winer, De Vers. Syr. N. T., etc. p. 20 ff.

peculiar, as it is a Hebraistic construction which one might have expected to find kept. τδιος is often omitted, sometimes inserted: πᾶς is often omitted without authority, Mark v. 12, Acts iii. 21, and elsewhere, as it is often inserted without authority. From the Curetonian Baethgen¹ gives similar omissions, thus John i. 26 and elsewhere ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπε becomes simply καὶ (he said) where the Peshitto has in full καὶο καὶο : in the same way the simple καὶ (he said) does duty for οὐκ ἡρνήσατο John i. 20, and ἐπηρώτησε λέγων Luke xxiii. 3.

Of rather a different kind are the omissions of words and expressions inserted as explanations in the Greek, and unnecessary in the Syriac, as at Mat. xxvii. 46, where we have nothing to correspond to the τοῦτ' ἐστιν, Θεέ μου, Θεέ μου, κ.τ.λ.: so at Mark v. 41 we have simply ταλιθὰ κούμ without further explanation. Instances might be multiplied as at Mark vii. 11, 34, John iv. 25, ix. 7, and from the Curetonian John i. 39, 42. In reference to these, however, Michaelis' suggestion 2 should be noticed, that the evidence of secondary Versions goes to show that they were kept in the original translation, and omitted by the scribes afterwards. To such intentional omissions are to be added unintentional omissions due to ilacism, homoioteleuta 3, and the like, as in the Curetonian at Mat. xxiii. 18, and in the Peshitto at 2 Cor. v. 17.

The danger of arguing from omissions in the patristic quotations will be noticed later in discussing the argument e silentio.

Similar caution is necessary in inferring from additions in Versions or patristic quotations that anything has dropped out of the Greek text.

In the first place additions are necessary in one language to

¹ Loc. cit. p. 22.

³ Curae, etc., p. 60. The answer is obvious, that the translators of these secondary Versions would insert them when translating, such explanations being as necessary for their readers as for those of the original Greek.

³ Such are particularly frequent in the later translation of the Apocalypee; cp. xiv. 11, xviii. 22, xx. 5.

supply the ellipses of another. Thus in reference to $\delta \pi \sigma \tau \delta \sigma - \sigma \epsilon \sigma \theta \epsilon$ at Eph. v. 22, Jerome¹ says, hoc quod in latinis exemplis additum est 'subditae sint' in gr. edd. non habetur . . . sed hoc magis in Graeco intelligitur quam in Latino. Similarly at 1 Tim. vi. 7^2 $\delta \hat{\eta} \lambda \sigma \nu$ of the textus receptus is proved by the variants to be corrupt and has little support: Versions cannot be used to strengthen the evidence for it, because they required some such addition to complete the grammar.

From the Curetonian Baethgen gives instances at Mat. iii. 4, where a word has to be supplied, because cannot be used of $\ell\nu\delta\nu\mu\alpha$ and $\zeta\omega\nu\eta\nu$, as is $\ell\iota\chi\epsilon\nu$ in Greek, at Luke ii. 52, where two words, so be and have to be used for the one word $\pi\rhoo\epsilon\kappa\nu\psi\epsilon\nu$ of the Greek, and at Luke viii. 33 both the Curetonian and Peshitto have to add $\Delta\omega$, because the construction $\tilde{\omega}\rho\mu\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu\ldots\epsilon ls~\tau \eta\nu~\lambda(\mu\nu\eta\nu)$ is not Syriac.

In modern editions we can generally, though not always³, detect such necessary additions by the help of italics.

Insertions of a somewhat different kind, to make clear the sense, are the substitutions of a proper name for a pronoun, as at Mat. i. 10, 19 (Curet.), or at the beginning of sections Jesus or Lord (both in the Peshitto and Curetonian) as at Mat. xiii.

¹ Alford, Digest, ad loc.
² Field, Otium Norvicense, iii. 127.
³ Cp. Revised Version at 2 Tim. ii. 26.

54, Luke viii. 19, or 'disciples' for avrol, Mat. xiii. 51, Mark xvi. 19, and elsewhere in the Curetonian.

Not only is caution required in both these respects, viz. of additions and omissions, but it must be also remembered that varieties of rendering do not point necessarily to any variety in the underlying Greek text. How far it is advisable to try and keep the same word for the same Greek word was a question discussed in reference to the Revised Version. It is certain that to do so would not always give the best equivalent of the thought of one language in the expressions of another, though it would enable us to restore the Greek text much more certainly. An examination of the Versions shows that they often were content to give the sense regardless of the actual Greek before them, and so it is that we so frequently find interpretative glosses. Thus in the Peshitto at Heb. vi. 4 φωτισθέντες becomes oh legospa (descended to baptism), at 1 Peter iii. 19 ἐν φυλακη is rendered \ (in Sheol), at I Cor. iv. 3 ανθρωπίνης ημέρας is (by any man), 2 Tim. iv. 13 φελόνην is had had (book-case), and Rev. i. 8 à kal & becomes of a (Olaph and Tau); In the Jerusalem Syriac Adler gives an instance from Luke vii. 45, where φίλημα οὐκ ἔδωκας becomes φαλα λοσμ ! (thou didst not salute)2.

In the Latin Version this custom of glosses will explain the variety of readings at Tit. ii. 3, where all are explanations of σφρονες; and, were it not for the danger (less perhaps in this part of the Revelation than elsewhere) of relying on one authority only for a reading, the temptation would be great to say that all the epithets in Rev. xxii. 11, some of which have come through the Vulgate into our text, are glosses

¹ Loc. cit. p. 152.

³ So, in the Ethiopic, Mat. xxiii. 15, ποιήσαι προσήλυτον ένα appears as ⁴ to baptize one proselyte'; in the Vulgate, James v. 15, έγερει is alleviabit; cp. ib. v. 3. From the Fathers may be given Chrysostom's custom of making glosses on the text; cp. Field, l. c. iii. 48.

of the translator,' and the knowledge of both languages displayed by the translator.

It is of the greatest importance that we should examine these last three points, and also the genius of the language, i.e. its capability of being used to convey the thought and expression of the Greek.

The extent to which we can use a Version to recover the underlying Greek depends very largely on whether it is a literal or only a sense-translation1. Some Versions aim at reproducing the letter of the original, sacrificing to that object the grammatical construction and idiom of their own language, and even in some cases intelligibility; some aim only at giving the thought of that which they are translating, and, so long as they attain that, disregard the letter entirely? From Aquila's Version of the Old Testament we might recover the Hebrew. From the Harklensian or Old Latin 3 of the New we can generally be fairly sure of reproducing the Greek text, though we meet with violations of grammar at every turn. From the Harklensian, for example, we can often say where it read the Greek article, and where it did not; thus at Mat. x. 3 we have well? on (δ ἐπικληθείς), where the Peshitto gives simply ... The Curetonian again is even less literal than the Peshitto 4. In relation to the Memphitic and Thebaic Dr. Lightfoot notices that the latter shows a greater regard for Egyptian idiom than the former, so that the connecting particles are observed in the one but not in the other5.

¹ Kaulen, Geschichte des Vulgata, p. 39; Ridley, l. c. pp. 334-9; Bleek, Einleitung, p. 936.

² Cp. Jerome, ad Pamm. Ep. 57, ad Sun. et Fret. Ep. 106.

⁸ Cp. Acts avii. 18, seminiverbius = σπερμολόγος; 2 Cor. vii. 10, impaenitendus = dμεταμέλητος. This literalness often enables us to argue as to synonyms, e.g. at I Cor. ix. 9 we may be sure d and e reading camum mittes had κημώσεις and not φεμώσεις.

⁴ Baethgen, l. c. p. 14. ⁴ In Peschito auf Kosten des syrischen Sprachgebrauchs ein engerer Anschluss an das griechische Original erstrebt wird.

Ib. p. 12, the Curetonian is a 'sinngemässe nicht buchstäbliche Uebersetzung'; ep. ib. p. 25 ad init.

⁵ Scrivener, Introduction, pp. 390, 400.



Of the translators' knowledge of the language little need be said. Those who have gone carefully into the different Versions confirm the a priori probability that they would be well acquainted with both languages. The Ethiopic is a striking exception, unless indeed the mistakes are to be attributed to careless readings of the Greek. The following instances are given by Michaelis. At Luke viii. 29 there is a confusion of $\pi \dot{\epsilon} \delta a is$ and $\pi a i \delta \dot{\epsilon} s$, at Rom. vii. 6 of $\kappa a \tau \eta \chi o i \mu \epsilon \theta a$ and $\kappa a \tau \epsilon i \chi o \mu \epsilon \theta a$, at Rom. vii. 11 of $\dot{\epsilon} \dot{\epsilon} \epsilon \pi \dot{a} \tau \eta \sigma \epsilon$ and $\dot{\epsilon} \dot{\epsilon} \gamma \pi \dot{a} \tau \eta \sigma \epsilon$. Whatever the cause, such mistakes have done much to lower the estimation of the Ethiopic Version for purposes of textual criticism.

The other point, to which allusion has been made, is the necessity of knowing the genius and idioms of the language before using it for critical purposes. This suggests, as a preliminary consideration, that only those who know the language of the Version can use it. Certainly to use its evidence through the medium of a Latin translation is getting a most distorted idea of its value. This was the plan adopted by Mill⁴, Beza, and others who inaugurated the use of the Eastern languages for textual purposes, and many misstatements were the result. Tischendorf 5 again relied absolutely on Tregelles for Eastern Versions, and the consequences have not always been good, if one may argue from the different conclusions as to Eastern evidence given by others. Thus Baethgen notices that at Luke xvii. 11 (and here Westcott and Hort are also wrong) Tregelles made the Syriac read 'ad Galilaeam.

¹ For the Peshitto, see Marsh's *Michaelis*, ii. 40; for the Curetonian, see Baethgen, *l. c.* p. 12.

³ Tract. Crit. § 24, p. 24 ff.

² Tregelles, Dict. of the Bible, iii. 1614, gives other instances.

⁴ A number of Mill's errors are given by Michaelis, *Tract. Crit.* p. 45 and § 32, and also by Wetstein.

⁵ Gregory in Tisch. N. T. pt. iii.

⁶ Baethgen, *l. c.* p. 3, note. It is also noticed by Michaelis, *Tract. Crit.* § 73, that the Persian translators misunderstood this Syriac expression.

διὰ μέσου...καί.' In the same way Ridley¹ notices that it is the Syriac idiom to have $\theta \epsilon \delta \nu$ after $\sigma \epsilon \beta \delta \mu \epsilon \nu o \iota$, and therefore Tischendorf is wrong in quoting this as a varia lectio at Acts xiii. 43, and not in the other places in the Acts where it occurs. Baethgen² gives other instances where the evidence is wrongly quoted for similar reasons at Mat. xiii. 16, and Luke xii. 1 and xx. 1.

It is also important to remember that some of the distinctions of one language are not kept in another: thus Dr. S. C. Malan points out that there is no distinction of genders in Armenian; in Arabic also the place of the neuter has to be supplied. Again, the usage of a language sometimes causes an ambiguity in the evidence, thus-in Syriac οὐρανοί and οὐρανοίs are not distinguished, the plural being always used. This is also the case with γραφή and γραφαί, the Peshitto always pointing as a plural (but see infra); the absence of a comparative in Syriac makes its evidence doubtful wherever this is involved in the adverb; thus the Syriac affords no evidence as between εὐθύμωs and εὐθυμότερον at Acts xxiv. 10 (cf. Michaelis, Curae, p. 147), nor is the Latin always careful to observe the same idiomatic comparative Acts xxiv. 22, 26; xxv. 4, 103.

An important class of instances to be noticed under this head are places where the evidence is ambiguous owing to the system of pointing. Thus at I Cor. xiv. 38 μ may be dγνοεῖται, or, as the Erpenian Arabic has taken it, dγνοείται. This is particularly to be noticed where the variant in the Greek is a question of singular and plural. Thus Tischendorf is wrong in quoting the Syriac at Mat. ii. 23, where that version (καικ) may represent according to the pointing διὰ τοῦ προφήτου or διὰ τῶυ προφητῶυ. He is wrong also in quoting the Syriac for the plural στρατηγοί at Acts iv. 1, where μαρί may be singular or plural.

¹ Loc. cit. p. 331. This does not affect the evidence of the Syriac at 1 Tim. iii, 16 as Ridley thought (p. 306).

² Loc. cit. p. 16.

² Additional examples will be found in O. L. Texts, ii. p. ci.

⁴ Michaelis, Tract. Crit. § 36.

For a similar reason the evidence is ambiguous at Col. iv. 15 as to the reading there; nor have the printed editions improved matters, for the Peshitto vocalizes the noun (Νυμφᾶν) as a feminine and the affix as a masculine ¹.

Finally, it should be noticed in reference to Versions that mistakes in translation may still give evidence as to the Greek text used. Thus at Luke vi. 1, if e reads sabbato mane, and f sabbato a primo, it is evidence that δευτεροπρώτω was found in the Greek text from which they came, though they convey a poor idea of its meaning. So if k at Mat. xi. 23 (Old Latin Texts, ii. 42) reads ne quomodo in caelum elata es, usque ad inferos descendas, it shows the Greek used was not $\dot{\eta}$ $\dot{\nu}\psi\omega\theta\epsilon\hat{\iota}\sigma a$, but $\mu\dot{\eta}$ $\dot{\nu}\psi\omega\theta\dot{\eta}\sigma\eta^2$. Again, neglewit, the reading of e at Mark v. 36 supports παρακούσας as against ἀκούσας; and similarly in the Syriac, ridiculous as is the translation at Rev. viii. 13 of μεσουρανήματι عددا ووصدا العربية المعربية (in the middle of a tail of blood), it is conclusive evidence for μεσουρανήματι against μεσουρανίσματι (the reading of I and Erasmus). From the Latin other instances are given by Kaulen 3.

When we turn to patristic quotations we are met by quite a distinct set of phenomena. In the first place we have to assure ourselves that the Fathers had a manuscript before them when quoting, and are not quoting from memory. Griesbach professes to have given a series of criteria for determining this, which is undoubtedly the most important point in reference to patristic quotations. We must first notice the complications that arise from their quoting from memory; a thing common enough now, and therefore much more common when books were more scarce, and the

¹ Lightfoot, Colossians, p. 256, Addit. Note. The question is between κατ' οἶκον αὐτῶν, αὐτοῦ, αὐτῆς.

² The reading of k may represent a stage in corruption not in evidence from Greek MSS., viz. μη ὑψωθεῖσα.

³ Loc. cit. pp. 88-9, note.

⁴ Symbolae Criticae, i. p. cxxxix; cp. his Curae, § 13, p. 27, allegationes fideliter e codicibus depromptae may be distinguished vagis ad dicta scripturae provocationibus.

difficulties of verifying a reference so much greater 1. The fact of quotations being given from memory explains the following phenomena in patristic quotations, none of which therefore substantiate various readings, (i) Combinations of different passages; (ii) transpositions; (iii) sense renderings, including changes of syntax, adaptation, use of synonymous terms.

Instances of combination are to be found in Barnabas v, where Ps. cxviii. 20 and Ps. xxi. 17 are combined; so in Ignatius ad Philad. vii, John iii. 8 and 1 Cor. ii. 10, and in Polycarp ad Phil. i, Acts ii. 24, 1 Pet. i. 8, 1 Pet. i. 12 are fused into one sentence. Later on, when manuscripts were more abundant, we have instances from Origen², where Acts xiii. 26, 46 are twice combined as if they were contiguous verses, and from Chrysostom³, where Matthew xiii. 55-6 has a passage from John vi. 42 inserted in the middle.

From the same page in Field we may illustrate the phenomenon of transposition; thus John vii. 4 appears as ε γ γ ρ ταῦτα ποιεῖς δεῖξον σεαυτὸν τῷ κόσμφ, οὐδεὶς γάρ τι ποιεῖ ἐν κρυπτῷ καὶ ζητεῖ αὐτὸς φανερὸς εἶναι (where φανερός is also noticeable); cf. also Iren. v. 10 and v. 13, and iii. 38 and v. 13⁴.

Sense renderings may be illustrated from Irenaeus, who is as a rule 'a most careful quoter 5.' Thus we get (a) change of syntax in the quotation of Luke ix. 57-8, where (i. 8. 3) ἀκολουθήσω σοι κ.τ.λ. appears as a question; (β) change of singular to plural, or vice versa, in a reference already given to John i. 136; (γ) equivalent words in the quotation of Luke ii. 28 εὐχαρίστησεν for εὐλόγησεν; Luke xiv. 27 ἀκολου-

¹ Cornill, l. c. p. 58; cp. Porson, Letters to Travis, p. 275.

² Lommatzsch, xv. 135, 147, Hom. XV in Jer.

Field, Homilies on St. Matthew, i. 558, ούχ οδτύς έστιν ὁ τοῦ τέκτονος υίός, οῦ ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν τὸν πάτερα καὶ τὴν μητέρα; καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ οὐχὶ παρ' ἡμῦν εἰσί;

⁴ I Cor. xv. 53 is quoted correctly in v. 13, inverted in v. 10; I Cor. xv. 55 is kept in v. 13, inverted in iii. 38.

⁵ Tregelles in Horne, iv. 333.

Compare Ign. ad Polyc. ii. φρόνιμος γίνου &τ δφις ἐν ἄπασιν καὶ ἀκέραιος (Mat. x. 16); ad Smyrn. i. βεβαπτισμένον ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου, ἴνα πληρωθŷ πάσα δικαιοσύνη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ (Mat. iii. 15).

θεῖ μοι for ἔρχεται ὀπίσω μου, in Luke xv. 4 πεπλανημένον for ἀπολωλός; (δ) change in the order of words in Luke ix. 62 (contra Haer. i. 8. 3), οὐδεὶς ἐπ' ἄροτρον τὴν χεῖρα ἐπιβαλών; (ε) equivalent of the passage without exact quotation, in Origen's quotation of Eph. ii. 12^{1} .

In many cases where we should be in doubt from this cause what reading a Father had, the context makes it clear, so that even in quotations from memory we may often use the Fathers' evidence for or against a certain reading.

We may, however, be sure that under certain circumstances they would have a manuscript before them, and then their evidence becomes much more valuable. Thus the longer passages are more correctly quoted than the shorter extracts. This is true of Justin Martyr's quotations from the Old Testament². It is also true of Augustine's quotations³, and it is easily intelligible that it would be worth while to take the trouble of verifying a long reference, while a short one would be left to the memory. Much depends also on the object for which the quotation is made; thus for a polemical purpose close adherence to the letter is necessary, and so in controversial treatises we find as a rule exactness, while for a preacher more freedom would be allowed, and so it is that Chrysostom's quotations are very often inexact⁵. A marked difference, again, is found to exist, in respect of verbal exactness, between quotations made from historical matter, and those made from St. Paul's Epistles or our Lord's words. This is pointed out by Ziegler with reference to Augustine.

The question is further complicated by the possibility of the Fathers having more than one manuscript before them at

¹ Lommatzsch, xx. 170; Contra Celeum, viii. 43 (but op. ið. viii. 5) τοὺτ ξένους τῶν διαθηκῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀλλοτρίους τῶν εὐαγγελίων.

² But Justin's quotations afford in any case precarious evidence, as is seen from the remarks of Dr. Hatch, Essays in Biblical Greek, p. 186.

³ Ziegler, l. c. p. 55.

⁴ Von Gebhardt would on this account use only the Contra Marcionem of all Tertullian's writings.

⁵ F. H. Chase, Chrysostom, etc. p. 86.

a time1. This may, in some places, explain the heterogeneous character of the quotations, and makes conclusions drawn from them uncertain. It must be remembered again that when they had manuscripts before them, they did not always use them, but regarded themselves as free to use their own judgment with reference to a reading. From what has survived to us of their writings we know that few of them were destitute of critical acumen, and that they used not only external but also internal evidence². Though we have instances of the skill with which they handle textual problems, we cannot but acknowledge that the adoption of such editorial functions makes them rather judges than witnesses of the text, and that they would have been more useful in the latter capacity, had they been more mechanical in transmitting the text. We have also to take into account the possibility of their having adopted a conjectural reading³, and, when we consider how dangerous a weapon this may become, it is at once obvious how suspicious of unsupported readings we must be. Yet another indeterminate factor is introduced when we remember that the Fathers often knew more than their own language, and possibly may have translated for themselves. It is still an open question in the eyes of some people, how far this may explain the variations of Tertullian's quotations4, and he is not the only Father who has been thus accused. The problem of patristic quotations would be much simplified could we be sure that any given Father knew only the language in which he was writing.

Lastly in considering patristic quotations, the question as to the amount of importance to be attached to the argument e silentio must not be passed by. The argument is under

¹ Wetstein, Animadrersiones, etc. p. 89.

³ Iren. v. 30. 1. Aug. Contra Faustum, xi. 2; De Doctr. Christ. ii. 21; Retract. i. 7. 2. Cp. Origen as to Mat. viii. 28.

³ R ferences are given in Wetstein, l. c. pp. 26, 37, 49. It must be remembered, on the other side, that there are countless instances in which they refuse to let MS. evidence be balanced by any considerations.

⁴ Zahn is perhaps the strongest supporter of this view, e.g. cp. Geschichte des N. T. Kanons, i. 51.

all circumstances precarious¹, and a consensus of silence can alone give weight to it. Thus to argue that Cyprian cannot have had $\theta \epsilon o \hat{v}$ at Acts xx. 28, because he makes no reference to the verse in Test. ii. 6, 'Quod Christus deus,' is by no means safe; because it is easy enough to imagine that, in collecting proofs of that statement, this, though so obvious, might have escaped him. On the other hand the concensus of silence as to I John v. 72, when such a strong statement of the doctrine of the Trinity would have been valuable, and must have occurred to some among the many Fathers of the first five centuries, is in itself sufficient to condemn the passage. When we are considering the evidence afforded by the argument with reference to single words, it has to be remembered that owing to the many possible causes of omission mentioned above, it can only very rarely be relied on. Even in longer passages the argument, though convincing to one critic, may be far from convincing to another³.

It is also not unnecessary in using the evidence of patristic quotations to accept Tregelles's caution as to assuring ourselves that the passage of Scripture in question is really the one which the Father is quoting. Thus Burgon's gives an instance where Athan. (Pasch. Syr. 11) is said by Westcott and Hort to be quoting Mat. v. 22, whereas he is really thinking of 1 John iii. 15. Where such ambiguity exists it is well to adopt Griesbach's method, and give the passages that may be intended. There are also to be taken into account the possibilities of a quotation being referred to a wrong Father',

¹ Cp. Westcott, Canon, p. xxviii.

³ See Westcott and Hort, ii. 104 (Appendix) ad loc. It is found in Priscillian.

³ See, for example, Scrivener and Westcott and Hort as to the weight to be attached to Cyril of Jerusalem's silence about Mark xvi. 9-20.

⁶ Horne, iv. 340. ⁵ Revision Revised, p. 359.

⁶ Symb. Crit. ii. 620, where, quoting Clem. Alex, for Rev. xxii. 12, he gives as possible references Is. xl. 10, lxii. 11.

⁷ Ziegler, *l. c.* p. 69, note, points out that a quotation of 1 Cor. iii. 5, attributed by Sabatier to Augustine, is really due to Petilianus, and that Augustine quotes the passage quite differently.

or of the rejection of the authority on the ground of the work passing under the name of one who was not its author; and, when we get our quotation indirectly, there is always the chance of the Father being wrongly quoted ¹.

On all these grounds the evidence of patristic quotations merits the severest scrutiny before it is thrown into the balance on one side or the other.

In using Versions and patristic quotations alike we have to consider the possibility of many so-called variae lectiones having come from misreading of the Greek. Here caution is needed lest we should put on one side (as errors arising from this cause, not therefore to be counted as various readings) real differences in the Greek text, and thus unintentionally defeat our own object.

Such errors may be due to misreading abbreviations. doubt the evidence of our earliest manuscripts points to the rarity of abbreviations, but these were no doubt a kind of éditions de luxe; when manuscripts had to be multiplied rapidly, abbreviations must have been much used. Several instances are given by Wetstein², and they afford plausible explanations of the phenomena, though for some of his suggested abbreviations other support would be desirable. Thus in Mark xv. 8 the alternatives dvaβás and dvaβoήσas—the first read by Vulg. with a, the second by c, ff^2 —may be due to two interpretations of an abbreviation (so in 2 Kings xxiii. 9 there is a similar confusion of $d\nu \epsilon \beta \eta \sigma \epsilon \nu$ and $d\nu \epsilon \beta \delta \eta \sigma \epsilon \nu$). At Matthew xiv. 7 a similar abbreviation may explain the reading of the Syriac and B, ωμοσεν for ωμολόγησεν. It is questionable whether this explanation should be adopted, as Wetstein suggests, of the variants 'Ιερουσαλήμ and 'Ισραήλ at Acts vi. 7, or of the variants ἀποστόλους and ἀνθρώπους at Acts v. 34. Another instance, not given by Wetstein, would be the form in which Isaiah xlv. I appears at Barnabas xii, Tertullian

¹ Thus Tregelles (Horne, iv. 347) shows how Germanus, quoting Irenaeus' evidence as to Mat. i. 18, has exactly reversed it.

² Wetstein, Animadversiones, etc. p. 34; cp. Griesbach, Curae, iii. § 6.

adv. Judaeos 7, and Cyprian Test. i. 21, in all of which the abbreviation $\kappa \omega$ for Cyrus is taken for the more familiar $\kappa \nu \rho i \varphi$, and in M of Cyprian the change has gone so far that $\chi \rho \iota \sigma \tau \hat{\varphi}$ of the LXX has dropped out altogether, and we get Domino Cyro representing $\kappa \omega$ $\kappa \omega$.

The most interesting variant for which this explanation has been offered is that of Tertullian¹ at Heb. vi. 5, where 'occidente iam aevo' is attributed by Semler to a misreading $\overline{\delta vs}$ (for $\delta vv \delta \mu \epsilon \iota s$), as an abbreviation of $\delta \hat{v} \sigma a \iota^2$. If Rönsch's explanation that it was due to the Latin translation used by Tertullian held good, we should expect more widely-spread authority for this strange reading.

Another class of mistakes comes from the wrong division of Greek words³ (of which we get instances in the MSS. at Mark xv. 6, Rev. xviii. 8) as in the Curetonian at John iv. 38, where $\delta\lambda\lambda\omega$ is rendered as if it were $\delta\lambda\lambda$ of, and John vi. 63 where $\hat{\eta}$ $\sigma d\rho \xi$ is given instead of $\hat{\eta}$ $\sigma d\rho \xi$.

Misreadings of the Greek manuscripts due to errors of the eye must also be taken into consideration. Thus in the Peshitto ἀντέχεσθε and ἀνέχεσθε are confused at 2 Cor. xi. 20, ἀπειλήν and ὀφειλήν at Eph. vi. 9. Other instances are given by Scholz and Hug. From the Curetonian may be quoted the confusion of ἀνέξεται and ἀνθέξεται (where also the Vulg. reads sustinebit) at Mat. vi. 24, and of καταρτίσω and κατηρτίσω at Mat. xxi. 164.

In the Vulgate a somewhat similar case may be the reading minavit for $d\pi \eta \lambda a \sigma \epsilon \nu$ (Acts xviii. 16, as if from $d\pi \epsilon \iota \lambda \dot{\epsilon} \omega$) where e. tol. read abegit⁵.

¹ Rönsch, Das Neue Testament Tertullians, p. 725.

² An exact parallel is quoted by Griesbach, Curae in Text., etc. p. 83, note. Professor Sanday suggests that it may be most easily explained by the omission of a line in the MS.: thus δυν[άμεις τοῦ μέλλ]οντος αlῶνος.

Scholz, Einleitung, i. 593, note. Hug, Einleitung, i. 329.

⁶ Cp. also in the Peshitto: κατά read as κάθα, I Cor. i. 6; and καὶ τά for κατὰ τά, Col. ii. 22. So also, perhaps, we are to explain ξταιρος for ξτερος (Luke xiv. 31), unless it is a sense reading, as Michaelis (Tract. Crit. § 37) suggests.

⁵ But in the Vulgate Exod. iii. I and elsewhere miso is used for 'to drive.'

Such mistakes are very frequent in the Ethiopic, as has been noticed above.

In the Fathers we have similar instances, and these cases are, probably, the strongest evidence for the assertions that they translated for themselves, to which reference has already been made. Thus in I Cor. xv. 54 εls νῖκος appears as in contentionem in Tertullian, Cyprian, and Hilary¹; in de Resurr. 23, Tertullian translates Phil. iii. 14 τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως (as if it were ἀνεγκλήσεως) by incriminationis². Augustine's oftenrepeated reading of momenti at James i. 17 seems to imply that he read ῥοπῆς (and not τροπῆς) ἀποσκίασμα; so in Ep. 199. 22 he reads caecati at 2 Tim. iii. 4, clearly showing he had not τετνφωμένοι but τετνφλωμένοι³.

There are some cases where it is not possible to say whether the mistakes are due to misreading the Greek, or to variants in the Greek, or to corruptions in the language of the Version. Thus in Mat. ix. 36, where all printed editions of the Peshitto after Widmanstadt have (soluti), is it, as J. D. Michaelis says, a manifest erratum for (projecti) of the Harklensian, or does it represent a variation in the Greek text between εκλελυμμένοι and εσκυλμένοι? So in the Curetonian at Luke xx. 46, is the Syriac reading due to the Greek manuscript having confused στοαῖs and στολαῖs, or is it a scribe's error as to [a] and [a]? and [a]? and in John iv. 47, is there a representation of the various readings (va lõŋ and lua láσηται, or is there a scribe's confusion of [b] and [a]. None of these variants are, however, of any very great importance.

It is quite clear that all these kinds of error, and ambiguity as to the evidence afforded by Versions and patristic quotations, make it almost an imperative rule that no variant should be accepted on the authority of either of these kinds of testimony

¹ This may be due to their use of a common Version.

² In 2 Tim. iv. 6, Ziegler would seem to be wrong in inferring that Tertullian read dreλεέσεωs, as his reading deversionis may well translate draλύσεωs (l. c. p. 36).

³ Augustine was not a good Greek scholar; cp. Confess. ii. 23; de Trin. iii. 1.



without some manuscript support. But before we come to consider the very difficult question as to the value of the evidence of Fathers and Versions in comparison with manuscripts, we have to compare our Versions together and see to what extent their evidence may be regarded as independent, and what their value is, regardless of the considerations which have been already referred to as affecting all the evidence which they give.

In estimating the critical value of our authority, celeris paribus, age has the greatest weight. Tertullian's canon, 'id verius quod prius 1,' is, under certain conditions, the first to apply. We must see then the age of our Versions, and this can be fixed with less certainty in the case of Versions than Fathers. The Armenian, Harklensian, Gothic, and Vulgate are the only early Versions that can be dated with approximate certainty, on the ground of definite historical facts. In assigning the dates of the Early Syriac, Old Latin, and Egyptian Versions, we have only internal or inferential evidence. the Syriac Old Testament is cited as early as 170 A.D. by Melito of Sardis, it is impossible to identify his quotation with an existing Version. The same holds good with reference to Hegesippus (Eus. H. E. iv. 22). When Ephraem quotes from the Catholic Epistles and Revelation, this is no evidence that a Syriac Version existed in his day, unless it can be proved that he knew no Greek 3. Nor, again, if we could prove the existence of a Syriac translation of some part or parts of the New Testament, would that prove that a Version of the whole existed, because, at any rate, as late as Cyprian (Pref. in Test. iii), the different parts of the New Testament were kept separate. There is, again, as in the case of the LXX and Old Latin, the question whether the whole translation was the work of one man, as Bleek 4 holds, or several, as Tregelles 5 and Hug 6 maintain. In spite of these difficulties the evidence goes to show

¹ Contra Marc. iv. 5.

² Field, Hexapla, p. lxxviii; but see Scrivener, Introduction, p. 312, note.

Dict. Christ. Biogr. iv. 434.

⁴ Einleitung, p. 931.

⁵ Horne, iv. 266.

^{*} Einleitung, i. 326.

that, if the Syriac tradition that the Version was the work of Mark is an exaggeration, there was a Syriac Version made before the end of the second century. This evidence is derived from (i) the Canon it implies, (ii) its use by all sects implying an origin earlier than these sects, (iii) the evidential value of the textual corruption, (iv) the translation of such words as $\epsilon\pi l\sigma\kappa \sigma \sigma \sigma s$, which is not distinguished from $\pi \rho \epsilon \sigma \beta \sigma \tau \epsilon \rho \sigma s^{-1}$. It has to be added that by some the date of the Version is unduly brought down, as by Wetstein, who assigned it to the seventh century.

The date of the Latin Version is equally uncertain, but it is generally agreed that this also is prior to the close of the second century. If we could be sure of the date of Irenaeus' Latin translation, and assign it to almost the same date as the Greek as Tischendorf 2 and Massuet do, so as to be able to say that Irenaeus' Latin, Tertullian, and Cyprian were all one Version 3, or if we could hold with Weiss 4 that the agreement of Tertullian and Irenaeus' Latin showed a 'ziemlich verbreitete Uebersetzung,' then we might further infer from the variations between these Fathers' quotations that the Latin Version had a long history behind it, reaching back, it may be, almost to apostolic times 5. We might then afford to neglect as comparatively unimportant 6 the further question whether it was the work of one or many translators, a question on which opinion is not as yet unanimous. It must be added that the opinion of Dr. Hort is against assigning an earlier date than the fourth century to Irenaeus' Latin, and that others refuse to see, amidst the peculiar renderings of Tertullian, any evidence for a Latin Version then existing?

¹ This is true so far as that at Phil. i. 1, 1 Tim. iii. 2, Tit. i. 7, the word is used for ἐνίσκονος. In Acts xx. 17, 28 the words are distinguished as in the Greek. At Luke xix. 44, 1 Pet. ii. 25 and v. 2, the colourless word is used.

² Wann wurden, etc., E. T. p. 50.

³ Kaulen, l. c. p. 113.

⁶ Bleek, Einleitung in das A. T. p. 554, says, 'von grosser practischer Bedeutung ist übrigens die ganze Streitfrage nicht.'

⁷ See supra, p. 217.

These two points make it more important to settle, if possible, the question whether there were always many independent translations, or whether there was originally only one.

The Egyptian Versions are generally referred to almost as early a date ¹, and there can be no doubt that these three Versions represent the earliest efforts to translate the New Testament into foreign tongues. The evidence of Chrysostom (Hom. I in Johannem) is generally quoted to show that by his time there were Versions in most languages.

But though the age of a Version as of a MS. is the first criterion of value, it is by no means an infallible test. It has been abundantly proved, and is accepted by all textual critics, that age only affords a presumption in favour of the authority. Thus to Burgon's instance of the oldest fragment of Euripides (dating from about 200 B.C.), which is also the most valueless, may be added the already-quoted instance from the Codex Ambrosianus of the Peshitto Old Testament, many illustrations from late manuscripts of the LXX, and a striking example from one of the Vienna Corpus Series, reviewed by Professor Sanday in the Classical Review for February, 1888.

And, finally, it must be noticed that it is not always possible to accept the dates given in the manuscripts, as the scribes often copied those found in the archetype from which they transcribed.

To determine the age of a Version or Father is not therefore a sufficient test, and we must have recourse to others. We must examine first whether we get any traces of intentional alteration or doctrinal bias, either of which, if substantiated, would destroy the value of the authority in which it was found. Fortunately, though accusations abound from Justin Martyr onwards 5, the only ground for them very often is the

¹ Lightfoot, in Scrivener, Introduction, etc.

⁴ Ib. p. 19, 'There is this peculiarity about the MSS. of the treatise de Status Animae [of Claudianus Mamertus] that their value is in almost inverse ratio to their age.'

⁵ Cum Tryph. § 73, he accuses the Jews of cutting out at Psalm xcvi. 10.

not unnatural tendency 1, where two readings exist already, to choose that one which best suits the purpose or views of the writer. This explanation will hold good of many of the instances in which Tertullian accuses Marcion or other heretics. Thus (de Carne Christi 19) he ascribes the plural ἐγεννήθησαν (John i. 13) to the Valentinians, while as a matter of fact the singular which he adopts has absolutely no manuscript authority, and is most probably derived from Irenaeus², who, in adapting the quotation to his purpose, substitutes the singular for the plural, as is done by Ignatius, ad Polyc. 2, in a passage already quoted. Of a similar nature is Tertullian's accusation against Marcion (c. Marc. v. 3) of corrupting the text of Gal. ii. 5 by not omitting the negative. Here it is most likely that Marcion's is the right reading 3.

On the ground of intentional falsification, then, it may be allowed we have small reason to depreciate patristic evidence, and it is asserted by very many that there are few, if any, traces of it 4. But we have to take account of the tendency to adopt the reading which best suited the argument. Tertullian, with his forensic and rhetorical standard 5, and Jerome are perhaps the worst offenders in this respect. Thus, of the former, Rönsch 6 says that he used one translation 'obschon die vor den Augen Tertullians, weil sie mitunter seinen polemischen Schlussfolgerungen im Wege stand, nicht immer Gnade gefunden hat.' The following illustration may be given from Jerome 7. In 1 Tim. ii. 9 he says, writing against Jovinian, that $\sigma\omega\phi\rho\sigma\sigma\dot{v}\nu\eta$ should be translated not sobrietas but castitas, as better suited to his purpose: when accused of

¹ Cp. Coleridge's story of Luther's temptation to alter readings that told against his views.

² Iron. iii. 16. 2; 19. 2; 21. 5; cp. Griesbach, Curae, etc. p. 83, note. The singular is also found in b (Cod. Veron.).

³ For other so-called instances, cp. John iii. 6 (Arians), 1 Tim. iii. 16 (Maced.) and Tisch. ad Heb. ii. 9 (Nest.). Pearson on the Creed, p. 526.

⁴ Westcott, St. John, p. 142; Simon, Histoire des Versions E. T. pp. 2, 3, 126; Griesbach, Curae, etc. p. 90; Porson, Letters to Travis, pp. 155, 174.

Expositor, i. xi. 7.

Itala und Vulgata, p. 3.

⁷ Simon, l. c. p. 58.

: :::

(c) or lining it the Dit Termient he are rely defend to all are I for I or a releasing it respectively ability of the property.

The Ethical of the Eric Courses

In the case of Term as there is very little times. In the feed on a 1. The of the hard the Newtonia realing beaution because in a alpha a characterist which have the is not to be regarded or maintains at a forting, entrepring but makes as one of source or true the majority with the person. Larrent entrepring of using beatened and not malestened read of The Newtonia realizing at Heb II a qualitative books of any formal Versions is not formal in the Pesking.

If a cannot genere in this connection the clear tendency of the forms. Versions towards entirative views, if not in 1 Con. 1 Con. 1 and any rate in reference to the virginity of Mary. The way to instructed by the Syrise realings towhich agrees the Tation 8 at Mart 1 of 100, 100, 10, 20, 25, and Lake ii. 48. The same tendency is noticed by C. B. Michaelis in the Engen an and Polygict Arabic 5.

The selecting deep of the force of tel when used of Christ's Vac ion e.g. is incorrarieral, etc.) by the use of section (elsewhere their for mineral, is also noticed by Bacthgen as characterized of the Curetonian. Ellicott finds a 'slightly Arian tage in the Gothic' at Phil. ii. 6-8, but it must be remembered that the same charge has been brought against the Bacthers of the English Bible on account of their reading in John 1 184.

There would seem then to have been very slight alteration, for described purposes, of the Greek text.

We have next to consider how far our authorities are homopeneous, and so see whether we are justified in assigning them

Adder, I c pp. 45-41, says our printed editions following Widmanstads are based on Newtorian MSS.

^{&#}x27; Adler, / e.p. 37. So Marsh's Michaelis, ch. vii. § 8.

^{*} Baschyen, f. c. p. 92; Renan (Histoire des Origines, v. 187) calls the reading in Mat. 1.17 a *correction tout apologétique.

⁵ Truet. Crit, \$ 27.

^{*} F. T. Bassett on Revised Version, p. 84.

the same value in separate parts of the New Testament. Canon Westcott says, 'No authority has an unvarying value, no authority is ever homogeneous 1.' It is confessedly true of our manuscript authority; thus A 'has one recension in the Gospels, another in the Pauline Epistles, another in the Acts and Catholic Epistles 2.' It is also true of the Versions and patristic quotations. Of the Versions some are primary (or taken direct from the Greek) in one part of the New Testament, secondary at another, or even a combination of two different recensions. Thus the Codex Barsalibaei 3 is in the Gospels from the Harklensian, in the Acts and Epistles from The Arabic Version, called after Erpenius (1616), is in the Gospels a primary Version, in the Acts and Epistles derived from the Syriac 4. In order to settle the question of homogeneity, it is further necessary to attempt to solve the problem as to how far the translations were made simultaneously, and by one hand. It has already been pointed out that, owing to our ignorance of the conditions under which the Versions arose, this is very difficult. It is probably an open question whether the early Versions, at any rate, were not the spontaneous outcome of the want, which must have been early felt, of having the books of the New Testament in a 'tongue understanded of the people.' If so, these Versions would be made in different districts, and different books would be translated as they became known. Later on in the Church's history, as organization increased, such translations would be made under authority; but in the second century it is quite possible that Ridley's account may be right, plures a pluribus interpretibus in vulgus effusae sunt explicatius quae tandem collectae et non nunquam refictae in unum codicem vel editionem The same theory would explain Augustine's relatae sunt. numerositas interpretum of the Old Latin. It is obvious that

¹ St. John's Gospel, p. xc.

² Griesbach, N. T. i. lxxxi.

³ Ridley, l. c. §§ 13-14.

⁴ Michaelis, Tract. Crit. § 22.

³ Loc. cit. p. 334. He says, pp. 284, 291, the Versions were a sort of Targum intended circumforancis et vulgatioribus, and the glosses were gradually removed from the text.

an appearance of homogeneity would be given by the redaction of which Ridley speaks. If this be the true account of its origin, it will explain the Targum-like additions in the way of critical or exegetical glosses which we find in the Syriac, but it will weaken the importance which we might otherwise attach to Versions as made with the best Manuscripts, and exhibiting non unius alteriusce hominis sed totius ecclesiae interpretationem et judicium 1.

It is impossible to arrive at very certain conclusions as to the homogeneity of a Version for the reasons given above, and accordingly we find great divergence of opinion. Of the Peshitto it is asserted on the one hand by Bleek that in the New Testament, at any rate, it is all by one hand; while Hug and Tregelles say it is the work of several, the Acts and Epistles, for example, showing more signs of revision than the Gospels². Of the four Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse, and their relation to the rest of the Peshitto, we have already spoken³. There seems to be some ground for Michaelis' assertion, based on the evidence of language—as, for example, the use of lease (elsewhere in the New Testament, e.g. Acts xiv. 12 for heathen priests) instead of leas—that the Epistle to the Hebrews is later, and by a different hand 4.

When we turn to the Latin Version the question is equally difficult, and the earliest evidence we have on the question is opposed. Do the various fragments which have come down to us owe their diversity to changes introduced in transcription from a common archetype, and are there no differences other than those which may be traced to vitiosi interpretes, praesumtores imperiti, and librarii dormitantes ? Or have we in our present Old Latin codices the results of what

¹ Voigt, de Vers. N. T. Syr. p. 178.

² This revision may, however, have been subsequent to the original translation.

³ Supra, p. 197.

⁴ Marsh's Michaelis, ii. p. 8. The Erpenian Arabic has the same variation (ib. p. 5).

⁵ Jerome, Pref. ad Dam.

Augustine, in a well-known passage, calls the Latinorum interpretum infinita varietas, the interpretum numerositas? On this point opinion is still divided 1, though it seems to be agreed that we have two types of text, African and European, fairly well defined; and on the further question whether these were originally distinct, all the available evidence is not yet assorted, and 'premature theorizing' to be deprecated 2. There is no doubt when we come, a little later in the history of the Latin Version, to Jerome's time, that his work was anything but homogeneous, and though his statements on this point do not always agree with the facts as we find them, probably Rönsch unduly depreciates the critical value of the Vulgate on this account 3. That further changes have been introduced into the Vulgate Manuscripts through the existence and use of the Old Latin side by side with the Vulgate for three or four centuries, has been already pointed out 4.

These illustrations from the Syriac and Latin Versions show the need of settling where possible the homogeneity of our authorities. It is not less necessary in reference to patristic quotations. In the case of Tertullian, whom Rönsch calls the 'Gewährsmann' of the oldest Latin Bible, it is well known that his quotations are singularly erratic. It may be questioned whether it is right to attribute this to the Ishmaelitish character of the man, or whether, if, as Rönsch says, there were not only one but several translations extant, the variety in quotations may not be due to the fact that the Epistles were not as yet bound up in one volume 5, and so he followed in various parts various types of manuscripts. It is certainly important in reference to the value of Tertullian's quotations to settle this point.

¹ The authorities on each side may be seen in Holtzmann, Eisleitung, p. 62, and Herzog, R. E. viii. 436.

³ Old Latin Texts, ii. p. celv. ³ Itala und Vulgata, p. 11.

Westcott and Hort, ii. § 114, and supra, p. 198.

³ Ziegler, p. 36, n., quotes to this effect from Munter, De primordio Ecclesiae Africanae.

If we pass on to Origen, there is no doubt that (as has been proved by Griesbach 1) in his earlier work, his Commentary on St. John, he used manuscripts of what he called an Alexandrian character (BCL); in his later, his Commentary on St. Matthew, he used a Western text resembling D. The question as to the 'Einheit der Augustinischen Bibel,' is discussed by Ziegler at great length; and the importance of such a question, and the difficulties which surround it, are well illustrated there 2.

Before we are in a position to rightly value our authorities we must, after having examined them individually in reference to all the points which have been discussed, and assigned them their proper weight according to the results of the inductive process thus carried out, proceed to institute a sort of comparative criticism, with the object of ascertaining their dependence and independence of each other. We shall thus avoid counting as independent, authorities which examination would show to be closely related, or neglecting from identity of language and prima facie resemblance to notice real distinctions. On the extent to which this can be done depends the accuracy of textual criticism as a science. What Professor Sanday has said of Manuscripts is true of all textual authorities. 'It is now generally recognized that what the textual critic has to deal with is not so much MSS. taken singly as the archetypes of groups of MSS.'; i.e. as he has said elsewhere, 'Authorities must be weighed, not counted'; and if this process were complete, then it would be easy to throw them into one scale or the other, and so accept or reject a certain reading. It is, however, extremely difficult; for while authorities, in their origin locally most remote, are found to be derived from one source, so, on the other hand, those in the same language are often found to be independent.

¹ Symb. Crit. part ii.

² He decides finally (l. c. p. 76) that, in spite of apparent evidence to the contrary, there is 'unbestreitbares Zeugniss für die Einheit der Augustinischen Schrifteitate.'

The relation to each other of Versions in the same language is almost more difficult to define than that of Versions in different languages. Is the Peshitto older than the Curetonian, or are they related as the Vulgate and Itala? In spite of Dr. Hort's definition of the Curetonian as Syrvetus, this must still be regarded as an open question. And, of the later Syriac Versions, is the Harklensian merely a correction of the Peshitto (as Ridley and White), or practically a new Version (as Gregory Barhebraeus and Bernstein?)? Is the mysterious Carcaphensian, as Adler says (l. c. p. 33), not a different Version, but a codex vulgatae Syriacae versionis? Are the resemblances of the Jerusalem Syriac to the Peshitto noted by Adler (l. c. p. 155, note) due to connection with that Version, or are they, as Storr says, interpolations from it?

To the similar questions, in reference to the Old Latin, allusion has already been made. Are k, e of the same descent as a, b, f, q, or are they to be regarded as independent witnesses? It is only possible thus to indicate the nature of the questions involved in the relationship between Versions of the same language.

Again, in considering the relationship which exists between Versions of different languages we have to notice, first of all, the distinction between primary and secondary Versions, i.e. those made directly from the Greek, and those which come through the medium of another language. Many of the Western Versions come through the Latin, as many of the Eastern bear traces of Syrian influence.

Of the printed Persian Versions one is primary (that edited by Whelock), while that of Walton's Polyglot, which is the older Version, was made from the Syriac. So, too, of the Arabic Versions, while that of the Polyglot was from the Greek, parts, at any rate, of Erpenius' edition were from the Syriac. These considerations will show the inexactness of

¹ Cp. Studia Biblica, 1st series, p. 172, and Dr. Salmon's review of it in the Academy, 1885. Scrivener, p. 324.

² Cp. Dict. Christ. Biogr. iv. 433, 1017.

quoting the Arabic Versions without distinction, as was done by Mill and Bengel, or of not distinguishing between the two Persian Versions. It will be obvious that secondary authorities are for the most part only useful for correcting errors that may have come into the original Version subsequent to the date at which the secondary Version was made. Instances have already been given in which Michaelis uses the Erpenian Arabic to correct the Syriac, and it is only in this indirect way that it can be used to establish the Greek text.

But we have also to examine the relations that exist between Versions not traceable definitely to the same origin, and see whether the one has been conformed to the other, or whether the resemblance is due to derivation from the same early Greek archetype. What, for example, is to be said of the connection between the early Syriac and Latin Versions? Are we, with Wetstein, J. D. Michaelis¹, and Griesbach², to ascribe the resemblances to later interpolations from the Latin; or, with Bengel, to assume the use by the Syriac translator of a Latin Version as well as a Greek Manuscript; or, with C. B. Michaelis, to say that one of the Old Latin Versions was by a Syrian; or, finally, shall we accept the somewhat similar suggestion of Professor Sanday, that the Latin Version may have been made at Antioch or Caesarea? A settlement of this is obviously preliminary to a certain and accurate use of both these Versions.

Again, what is to be said of the Origenic readings in the Curetonian, as, for instance, at John i. 28? It is easy to suppose, seeing that we have only one Manuscript of the Version, that it may be a later insertion; but it is equally possible to use it as an argument for the lateness of the Curetonian Version.

What, again, is the explanation of the frequent close relation of the Thebaic with Western readings?

¹ Curae in Vers. Syr. Act. Apost.

² Hist. Text. Epp. Paul. i. § 12.

The answers to these and similar questions as to the relations of the Versions to each other must be given, and on the probability of the explanation offered, and its agreement with all the facts of the case, depends the use that can be made of these materials.

In the same way we must examine the dependence of the Fathers on each other. From the absence of any canons of literary usage, plagiarism was not uncommon. This adaptation of a predecessor's language is seen in the way in which quotations are transmitted in a way that varies from all Manuscripts, instances of which have been already given. From the earliest times the Fathers studied each other's writings. Thus Clement of Alexandria followed Clement of Rome 1; Barnabas 2 was used by Justin Martyr and Clement of Alexandria; Irenaeus, as we have already seen, was followed by Tertullian and Epiphanius, and Cyprian was a pupil and admirer of Tertullian⁸; and from the language used by Jerome the 'extent to which he leans on others' is obvious. The way in which the patristic evidence on Mark xvi. 9-20 may be traced through Eusebius, possibly to Origen, may be seen in Burgon's Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark 4. It is obvious, too, that in many cases the Fathers who wrote in Latin are evidence only for the Latin Version, and are dependent on that for their reading. This may be clearly seen from the many cases where we have the Latin Fathers and Versions on one side, and the Greek Fathers on the other. In such cases the Latin Fathers only count as corroborating the Versions, and not as independent evidence. Worthy of notice also is the agreement in error which is found to exist between Ephraem Syrus and the Peshitto 5.

This would make it almost certain that the evidence of Fathers, whom we have not in the Greek, is only indirectly valuable; and it is important to bear this in mind with

¹ Sanday, Gospels, etc. p. 17.

² Hilgenfeld, Nov. Test. extra Canonem, pp. 74, 89.

Porson, Letters to Travis, 262-3. Pages 509, 512-3

³ Cornill, l. c. p. 147. Studia Biblica, 1st series, p. 173.

reference to the Latin Version of Irenaeus, and also such parts of Origen as we have only in Rufinus' Latin translation. This last point is clearly proved by the remains we have of Origen's Commentaries on the Romans. Of course under some conditions it is possible to infer from the context what Greek reading they had, as in the case of Irenaeus' readings at Mat. i. 18 (contra Haer. ii. 16 al.), and at Luke viii. 51 (contra Haer. ii. 24); but as a rule what has been said above holds good, and it may be asserted generally that the same limitations apply to the use of their evidence as to that of Versions².

It may well be said that, if so many precautions have to be taken in the use of Versions and patristic quotations, it is an open question whether they will repay the labour spent on them. Such is not, however, the opinion of textual critics.

The evidence of patristic quotations is described by Professor Sanday 3 as 'the Archimedean point on which the lever of scientific criticism must be laid, and by means of which alone fixed, precise, and definite conclusions can be reached.' This is due to three special features of their evidence. Firstly, they 'settle the principles on which textual criticism must proceed, viz. in considering a few old authorities rather than many late ones 4.' Secondly, 'they are to all intents and purposes dated codices 5.' Thirdly, they determine the district in which any recension of text was prevalent.

They are useful to fix the locale. This may be seen from the way in which Cardinal Wiseman 6 used the evidence of

¹ Dict. Christ. Biogr. iv. 116. Ziegler, l. c. p. 54, draws wrong inferences as to Origen's readings.

Thus Irenaeus' evidence as to Acts xx. 28 in iii. 14. 2 is uncertain, though the Latin has ecclesiam Domisi, because, in places where the Greek has survived as well as the Latin, we find an inexact translation of titles, e.g. i. pref. § 2; ii. 26. 1; v. 2. 3; v. 3. 2.

³ Expositor, i. xi. 178. ⁴ Tregelles, Printed Text, p. 148.

Burgon, Revision Revised; cp. Griesbach, Symb. Crit. i. p. cxl, continent igitur patrum allegationes ipsiesima licet disiecta aut laxata eorum codicum Graecorum membra quibus patres illi usi fuerunt.

Wiseman, Escays, etc. (edit. 1888), p. 291 ff.

Cyprian and Arnobius to prove the origin of the Latin Version in Africa, from the resemblance in style and diction, and also in the substance of the quotations which has been proved to exist between Cyprian and the African representatives (as they have been thus found to be) of the Old Latin k, e, and also between Augustine and the European Codices. We may illustrate this also by the way in which Dr. Field used the quotations of Chrysostom and Theodoret to localize Lucian's recension of the LXX 1 .

They are certainly useful as to date. In the cases of both Versions and Manuscripts we have as a rule only inferential evidence on which to proceed; and sometimes, as has been seen, we have statements which are misleading. But when we find any reading in a patristic quotation, we are able at once to say approximately the date at which a certain reading was found. Thus it is important, with reference to the corruptions found in D, the Old Latin, and Curetonian, to remember that they are found as early as the second century 2. If this could not be proved from the evidence of patristic quotations, we should most probably have assigned these corruptions to a later period in the history of the text, even if we did not, on the strength of such corruptions, assert that the authorities which contained them must be late. But if they have this value it will not be right with Tregelles 3 to use none after 320, for even if the evidence of their actual quotations may have no direct value after that time, yet indirectly they will be of value even down to the seventh and eighth centuries, and even later. Nor will it be right to confine ourselves to the Latin Fathers, as Lachmann did, who used no other patristic evidence than theirs, saving only Origen's. All the Fathers, whose date and locality we know, will be useful.

¹ Hexapla, Proleg. p. lxxxvii.

² Nearly all the important interpolations are found in the early Fathers; I John v. 7 is an exception.

³ Scrivener, Introduction, p. 397. Cp. Westcott and Hort, ii. p. 102. All after 320 are 'so many secondary manuscripts, inferior to the better sort of secondary uncials now existing.'

The special value of Versions depends on the fact that the best were made from Manuscript authority considerably earlier than any now extant. They are, under the limitations that have been already discussed, Manuscripts to all intents and purposes 1, and we shall see that in conjunction with Manuscript authority they may be used as evidence on points, on which, without such support, they could not have been used. Further, it is possible in cases where there is not the ambiguity which is inherent in the evidence of all Versions quá Versions, to use their evidence without Manuscript support, as we could not use that of patristic quotations; for we may, as a rule, be sure that all readings which have the authority of Versions have Manuscript evidence, whereas many various readings, derived from patristic sources only, are, as we have seen, sufficiently explained by the fact of their being quoted from memory. But the evidence of Versions, before it can be used, requires to have tests (of the character described above) applied to it, in order that we may see whether there is any explanation of the reading they seem to support. The value of their evidence depends largely on what we believe to be their origin. If they were authoritative translations, we may be sure they were made from the best MSS. procurable, and by competent translators; but the chances of this increase in proportion as we get later in the history of the Church, and those generally considered the oldest lack this stamp of authority, as they were probably made for out-of-the-way congregations, or the illiterate, by whom the need of them would be first felt 2.

We have now to consider the value of patristic evidence, and that of Versions 3 when it is opposed to that of the ¹ Cp. J. D. Michaelis, *l. c.* ch. vii. § 1. The difficulties which prevent our treating Versions as MSS. are given by C. B. Michaelis, *Tract. Crit.*

² See supra, pp. 227, 228. Fritzsche (Herzog, viii. 437) says of the translator of the Old Latin—für den Gebrauch der Gemeinde schrieb.

³ As to the opposition of Versions and MSS., see Michaelis, Tract. Crit. § 20; Westcott and Hort, ii. § 360; op. also Aug. de doct. Christ. ii. 15 si quid in Latinis codicibus titubat Graccis cedere oportore. Cp. id. de civit. Dei, 1v. 13.

Manuscripts. Under certain circumstances what Walton said is true, that to correct the Manuscripts by the Versions was like correcting the sun by clocks, and like drinking of the stream when we might drink of the fountain; but unfortunately the comparison does not hold good, for in this case both the sun and the fountain require to be improved. the Manuscripts free from error we might agree with Walton, but as it is (unless we are prepared with Lachmann to follow the most ancient Manuscript authority, even when in error) we must correct our evidence by the best means at our disposal 1. This does not mean that we should, with Wichelhaus, make the Syriac the standard to which Greek MSS. should conform, or use the Latin 2 to correct the Greek, as Ambrosiaster and Helvidius, and in later times Harduin, wished to do. In the case of Versions it has been noticed that they always presuppose Manuscript authority, so that it is unlikely that a Version would support a reading which has no Manuscript authority.

In the case of patristic evidence for a reading as against Manuscript authority, it must be remembered that the early date of a Father is by itself in no way a guarantee for the value of his evidence, because contemporary with the earliest Fathers we have a great amount of textual corruption, as has been already pointed out. Holtzmann 3 upholds the principle that the quotations of the Fathers are to be taken in evidence against all Manuscript authority: thus in John vi. 4 he would omit any reference to the Passover 4, and at Mat. xi. 27 and Luke x. 22 he would prefer the Fathers to the Manuscripts. Again, at Heb. xi. 4, Westcott and Hort say that Clement of Alexandria alone has probably preserved the right

¹ Quid quod versionibus illis quinque integris uti possumus, codicibus Graecis etiam mutilis esse contenti debemus? Lagarde, de N. T. ad fidem, etc. p. 4.

² Horne, Introduction, iv. 265; Simon, l. c. pp. 44, 47. This is discussed at length by the author of Palaeoromaica. Harduin describes the Vulgate as sola integra et incorrupta.

² Einleitung, § 49.

⁴ Cp. Hort, in N. T. ii. Appendix, ad loc.

238 The Evidence of the Early Versions

reading, while in Col. ii. 2 Lightfoot inserts into his text a reading which has only the authority of B and Hilary 1. It should be noticed that by accepting a reading on the authority of patristic evidence alone, we suppose that the MSS. used by the Fathers were the same, and that they and all copies derived from them have disappeared. The difficulty of this supposition becomes greater the later in time the Father lived. This should make us very loth to accept the evidence of patristic quotations alone without any other support². We have seen enough to make us feel how easy it was when once a reading had been accepted by a Father, even as a marginal gloss, for it to be adopted by succeeding writers; and though we should welcome, if it were attainable, 'the consentient voice of Catholic antiquity' to which Burgon refers, the agreement must be that of independent witnesses to a reading. A consensus of patristic testimony may only mean the acceptance of a reading which was originally a critical or exegetical gloss, and never had any Manuscript authority.

Lastly, we must consider the evidence of patristic quotations and Versions when the readings they imply have Manuscript authority. Under such circumstances this evidence may be used for points in which, without such additional support, they would be valueless for one or other of the reasons given above. Winer cites cases where the Syriac may be used thus: at Phil. ii. 26 with ACDE; at 2 Cor. iii. 17 to support the omission of ἐκεῖ, because omitted in ABCD; at Eph. iii. 3 for the passive, because it has the Manuscript authority of ABCDFG; at I Cor. vii. 36 for the singular γαμείτω on similar grounds 3.

Versions and Fathers may also be used under such circum-

¹ Scrivener, Introduction, p. 634, is inclined to favour this reading, but finally adopts one with more MS. authority.

² Cornill, *l. c.* p. 59, says they are only useful 'als Anhaltspunkte für das Unterbringen von in Handschriften überlieferten Recensionen.'

³ Of course at the present time more stress would be laid on the grouping of MSS. than on the presence or absence of the Syriac.

stances to support one reading against another of similar meaning, if (but only if) an inductive examination of the Version shows that the translator carefully distinguished the words in question. Thus at Acts xii. 7 Lagarde would read νύξας instead of πατάξας, though it is read by D only of the Manuscripts. He has not, however, here carried out the inductive process on which he himself insists¹: if so, he would have found that the Syriac word has, though used for ἔννξεν again at John xix. 34, is also used for πατάσσω at Mat. xxvi. 31, Luke xxii. 50, Rev. xix. 15, as well as for other Greek words of varied meaning, e.g. ράπισμα ἔδωκεν, John xviii. 22; τύπτω, Mat. xxiv. 49, Acts xxiii. 2; δερεῖς, John xviii. 23. So that, from a word capable of being used so widely, it seems impossible to argue as Lagarde 2 would do.

So, again, he would use the evidence of Versions for the reading of A καταμαρτυροῦσιν at Mark xv. 4, as against κατηγοροῦσιν read by B and D.

Lastly, in connection with Manuscripts, Versions may be used to remove later additions which have come into the Manuscripts after the point at which the Versions were made. This use of them Jerome suggested. Speaking of the recension which went by the name of Lucian and Hesychius, he says he will not use it cum multarum gentium linguis Scriptura ante translata doceat falsa esse quae addita sunt.

Without Manuscripts it is impossible to restore the Greek text from Versions or those patristic quotations which labour under the same disadvantages as Versions. Of course the evidence of the Greek Fathers stands on a somewhat different footing; and yet we have seen that we might make many mistakes and be often in doubt as to the form, though no doubt the substance might be in great measure restored even 'from the works of Origen alone'.'

How useless is the attempt to restore the Greek text from

¹ Cp. especially Winer, l. c. p. 15; Baethgen, l. c. p. 21 ad init.; Nowack, l. c. p. 21.

² De N. T. ad fidem, etc. p. 10.

² See Michaelis, Tract. Crit. § 19, for the necessity of MSS. as a norma.

2.2. Esidence of Exerciterations in New Test. Text.

the Versions alone, without my help from Manuscripts, may be seen from the instance of Crowfoot's labours on the Curetonian, which resulted in the production of a Greek text in many places agreeing with no Manuscript whatever.

The whole subject is a wide one. Enough will have been said to show that very useful and important evidence may be got both from Versions and Fatristic protations, but that many precautions have to be taken before we can say that we have clear signs of a cana lead. The most indispensable requisite is that the supposed cana leads should have Manuscript authority of some kind, and the father such Manuscript authority is from the possibility of any intimate relationship to the witnesses under consideration, the greater does the value of the evidence become, and the more such independent authorities for a reading, whether Manuscripts Versions, or patriatic quotations increase, the nearer may we feel we are getting to the attainment of the original text of the New Testament.

NOTE

In reading the above abundantly illustrated and cautiously halanced estimate of the use of Versions and Fathers, it will be well to bear in mind the broad steps in the argument by which their value is established. It is a cardinal principle of modern textual criticism, that in order to recover the true text of any nucient document, it is necessary first to know its history. Experially in this the case with a text so complicated as that of the New Testament. But to the history of this text Versions and Fathers give the key. The text of MSS, is perfectly definite, but it is neither dated nor localized. It is just this dating and localizing which, in spite of their greater indefiniteness, is supplied by the Versions and Fathers. By their means the ground is mapped out: the succession of the different texts in point of time and their distribution in space are determined: and so the reconstruction of the text proceeds, not upon mere counting of numbers nor upon a subjective weighing of probabilities, but upon a firm basis of history. [W. S.]

VI.

THE AMMONIAN SECTIONS, EUSEBIAN CANONS, AND HARMONIZING TABLES IN THE SYRIAC TETRAEVANGELIUM,

WITH NOTICES OF PESHITTO AND OTHER MSS. WHICH EXHIBIT THESE ACCESSORIES OF THE TEXT.

[G. H. GWILLIAM.]

It is proposed in the following paper to give an account of the form in which the (so-called) Ammonian Sections and the Eusebian Canons are exhibited in MSS. of the Peshitto Version of the Four Gospels. The Greek form of this system of division and reference is well known, the symbols being expressed along the margin of the Greek text in such common editions as those of Mill, of Lloyd, and of Tischendorf; but the Syriac form has never been printed in any edition of the Syriac text. It was known from J. G. C. Adler's Versiones Syriacae that Peshitto and Philoxenian (or rather Charclean) MSS. frequently exhibit these divisions, and have tables of Canons prefixed, while some of the facsimiles appended to his book show a marginal notation of Section and Canon, like that found in Greek codices. So it has, perhaps, been assumed that the two systems, which are constructed on the same principle, differ only in unimportant details: certainly but little attention has been paid to the Syriac form, although it derives its origin from a very remote period 1.

The editio princeps of the Peshitto (Widmanstadt, Vienna,

¹ The late Dean Burgon claimed to have been the first to direct the attention of Biblical scholars in general to the Syriac Ammonian Sections and Eusebian Canons. He has given a brief but clear account of them in his Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark, App. G. The late P. E. Pusey set them out on the margins of his Widmanstadt from the MSS, which he had collated for his projected revision of the text. They will be printed in the edition of the Peshitto Gospels, now in preparation at the Clarendon Press.

1555) may be supposed to imitate on its pages the very form of the MS. matter from which the type was set up, for such was the practice of the early printers. So Widmanstadt's headings and subscriptions, his inserted liturgical rubrics, and his marginal ornaments, were doubtless copied from his MSS. The ordinary division into chapters is indicated by small figures, placed in the margin so as not to disturb the Syriac paragraphs. Perhaps he was hardly acquainted with Robert Stephen's verses. But with all this careful distribution of the text, there is no indication of the Sections and the Canons. It must be concluded that the editor's MSS. did not exhibit them. They are not so frequently found in later Peshitto MSS. as they are in the earlier copies, and the MSS. employed in preparing the editio princeps of the Peshitto were certainly of a late type, whatever their date and origin. It seems useless to enquire further about them, nor would their recovery be of much importance; for we can be in no doubt of their character. It is patent on the printed pages of Widmanstadt².

The century and a half which followed the period of the first editing of the Peshitto gave birth to several other editions, in part little more than reprints, but in part also improved by the use of other MS. evidence 3. But as yet no notice was taken of the Syriac Sections and Canons. Then in 1742 S. E. Assemani published his Catalogus Bibliothecae Mediceae. The first pages of this magnificently printed work are devoted to a full description of the most ancient MS. of the Holy Gospels in the Versio Simplex which that Library contains, the celebrated Codex Florentinus, which is dated A. Gr. 897, i. e. A. D. 586. He states that the Epistle of Eusebius to Carpianus is prefixed, but does not print the text of it, although he sets out in full the Tables of the

Inter alia may be mentioned and for and, as the word is spelled in all old MSS.; in old MSS. usually \(\big|_{\text{imo}}\), or \(\big|_{\text{imo}}\); the full form very rare; a paragogic appended to 3rd per. fem. pl., as as as a See Appendix I.

³ Besides the well-known authorities—Wichelhaus, Scrivener's Introduction, Leusden and Schaaf's Preface—see a valuable article on The Printed Editions of the Syriac New Testament in the Church Quarterly Review, vol. xxvi, July, 1888.

Canons, with their curious ornamentation. No remark is made on the differences between the Syriac and the Greek systems, although it would be obvious to any one who should compare the numbers of the Sections in any table, with those in the corresponding Greek table, that the systems are by no means identical. But in describing another codex (Plut. I, No. 58), Assemani (op. cit. p. 25) speaks of a 'distinctio Evangeliorum in versiculos, seu parvas sectiones ab Eusebio editas, quae apud Syros aliae sunt ab iis quae in MSS. Graecis et Aegyptiacis codicibus conspiciantur¹.'

From the materials collected by the late Mr. P. E. Pusey, supplemented by my own researches, we can now determine what were the peculiarities of the Syriac system. The following specimen will suffice to illustrate and explain the differences between the Greek and the Syriac forms. We select the first eleven verses of St. Mark, as affording a convenient and instructive comparison between the two systems. The reader is also referred to the facsimile which forms the frontispiece to the present volume, and which is described in Appendix II.

- α 'Αρχη τοῦ εὐαγγελίου 'Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ, υίοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ'
- β 'Ως γέγραπται εν τοις προφήταις, 'Ίδου, εγώ αποστέλλω του άγγελόν μου προ προσώπου σου, δς κατασκευάσει την δδόν σου εμπροσθέν σου.'
- $\bar{\beta}$ ' Φωνη βοώντος εν τη ερήμφ, 'Ετοιμάσατε την όδον Κυρίου' α εὐθείας ποιείτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ.'
- $ar{\gamma}$ 'Εγένετο 'Ιωάννης βαπτίζων έν τ $\hat{\eta}$ έρήμ $oldsymbol{\phi}$, καὶ κηρύσσων βάπ- 5 τισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.

Καὶ ἐξεπορεύετο πρὸς αὐτὸν πᾶσα ἡ Ἰουδαία χώρα, καὶ οἱ Ἱεροσολυμῖται· καὶ ἐβαπτίζοντο πάντες ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνη ποταμῷ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἐξομολογούμενοι τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν.

Ήν δὲ Ἰωάννης ἐνδεδυμένος τρίχας καμήλου, καὶ ζώνην δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐσθίων ἀκρίδας καὶ μέλι ἄγριον.

- Καὶ ἐκήρυσσε, λέγων, 'Ερχεται ὁ ἰσχυρότερός μου ὁπίσω μου,
 οὖ οὖκ εἰμὶ ἰκανὸς κύψας λῦσαι τὸν ἱμάντα τῶν ὑποδημάτων αὐτοῦ.
 - ¹ Of the Canons etc. in the former Codex, Assemani says: 'de quibus consulenda Prolegomena ad Biblia Polyglotta.' The reference must be to Walton's Polyglott, London, 1657, albeit Walton's description is entirely confined to the Greek form. Of the Syriac form he was probably ignorant.



Έγω μεν εβάπτισα ύμας εν ύδατι αὐτός δε βαπτίσει ύμας εν Πυεύματι 'Αγίφ.'

Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις, ἡλθεν Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ Ναζαρὲτ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην.

Καὶ εὐθέως ἀναβαίνων ἀπὸ τοῦ τόατος, είδε σχιζομένους τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ὡσεὶ περιστερὰν καταβαῖνον ἐπ' αὐτόν

Καὶ φωνη έγένετο έκ τῶν οὐρανῶν, 'Σὰ εί ὁ υίος μου ὁ ἀγαπη-τὸς, ἐν ῷ εὐδόκησα.'

فيما واديكيون ويموم همسا حدد والأدواء أبو وهلات خلمكيا بحياء ودوا همية أيا هلاف عبو هنودور ويطمع أدفيوه

ملاً بمنا خصرحنال لبحد أونسه بعنبال وأمده محتكدهد، وهوا بدسي حصرحنال محصر وهدنان محصدوبالا بالحدال المدددان محصدوبالا بالحدال

و منفعل مدا كمام دكن دون بيدوي ودكبور حتى أونمكم. ومحمد موا كور حدوي بودل در مدوي حملة موده

و محمد موا وافد، مو المرا حطف اسكم حدد، منه الله عدد الما المدالة

هن دع محصوص حدوسا دعودها +

ومده وعد مصد الما مده مواد المحتد والمحدد

وهنبرا المحم مع قدما: سال المعلامه مقدما. واوسا المو عوما المواسطة حكوره ا

وملا ووا مع مقدا: (بط وه درد سحدا. در الهافيط

مەسى	حمما	حـه,	حزمهه
••	عر	محب	?
•	1	•	•
3	•	1	
	•• ••	•	
••	•• ••	ક	C)
حد	•	ے	•
ما	٦	~	1
*	•• ••	014	•
مه	0)-6	مار	R
wa	مه	•••	•

It may be convenient to add the version of the above from Leusden and Schaaf [Nov. Test. Syr. c. Vers. Lat. 1708], changing also the Syriac numeral letters for their equivalents in figures.

Principium Euangelii Jesu Christi Filii Dei +

- Sicut scriptum est in Esaia Propheta: Ecce, ego mitto nuncium meum ante faciem tuam, qui praeparabit viam tuam •
- Vox clamantis in deserto; Parate viam Domini, et exaequate semitas ejus ◆
- Johannes in deserto baptizabat, et praedicabat baptismum resipiscentiae in remissionem peccatorum •
- Et exibat ad eum universa regio Judaeae, et omnes Hierosolymitae, et baptizabat eos in Jordane flumine, quum confiterentur peccata sua •
- Ipse autem Johannes indutus erat vestimento pili camelorum, et cinctus erat zona pellicea in lumbis suis: et cibus ejus erat locustae et mel sylvestre •
- Et praedicabat, ac dicebat; Ecce, post me venit qui validior est me, is cui non sum dignus ut me incurvans solvam corrigias calcea-7 mentorum ejus. Ego baptizavi vos aqua •
 - Ipse verd baptizabit vos Spiritu sancto +
- Et factum est diebus illis, venit Jesus à Nazareth Galilaeae, et baptizatus est in Jordane à Johanne •
- Et statim quum ascendisset ex aqua, vidit quòd fissi sunt coeli,

 et Spiritum tanquam columbam, qui descendit super eum •
- Et vox facta est de caelo: Tu es Eilius meus dilectus, in te complacitum est mihi •

MARCUS	MATTHAEUS	Lucas	Johannes	
1	124	87	•• ••	
2	8	7	10	
3	7	6	2	
4	10	•• ••		
5	9			
6	12	10	I 2	
7	13	11	17	
8	15		14	
9	17	15	16	
10	18	16	18	

On comparing the treatment of this passage in the original, and in the Syriac, we observe how much more numerous the

Syriac Sections are than the Greek. Here the former are twice as many as the latter; in some other passages the disproportion is even greater, although usually it is less. The numbers in each Gospel are respectively, in Matthew, Syriac 426, Greek 355; Mark 290 and 236; Luke 402 and 342; John 271 and 232; in all 1389 in the Syriac, against 1165 in the Greek 1. The latter sought only to place in harmony those paragraphs in one Gospel which are in historical, or perhaps only verbal agreement with paragraphs in one or more of the other Evangelists: the Syriac aimed at a complete tabulation of the more minute resemblances between the several statements within the compass of such paragraphs. Thus it often happens that the Syriac section is but a few words, only half a verse, or less, but it forms a distinct division, because it bears a resemblance to some longer or shorter passage in another Gospel, or else it is noted as being without a parallel in the other Evangelists.

It will be seen that the references in the Syriac text are very conveniently collected together at the foot of the page. This was not intended, however, to supersede the Tables of Harmony, for they are often prefixed to the codex as well; but whether they were given or not, Syriac scribes, almost without exception, collected the references, page by page, precisely as we have exhibited them above. This is distinctly a feature of the Syriac system: rarely is a MS., which exhibits the Sections and Canons, unprovided with the Footharmony. The plan was imitated by the scribe of the Cod. Argenteus, of the Gothic Version, and was not unknown to

¹ I am not aware of any variation in the number of Sections in Syriac copies. The scribes performed their work with mechanical accuracy, favoured by the distinctness of the large Estrangela characters employed in the oldest MSS. It is not so as regards the Greek scheme. Dean Burgon (op. cit.), whose intimate acquaintance with Greek MS. Evangelia will be recognised by all, says that, while the majority of copies have for the sum total 1165, as above, it is found also to vary between 1181 and 1162. Suidas (s. v. Keφάλαιον, or Τίτλου) gives the Sections thus:—Mat. 355, Mark 236, Luke 348, John 232=1171. Further details of the sums total in MSS. are given by Tischendorf (Nov. Test. Gr. ed. crit. maj.) at the conclusion of each Gospel.

some of the Greeks; yet it is rare in Greek MSS., and apparently borrowed from Syria. This remark applies also to the Coptic MSS. If the plan of a Foot-harmony had belonged from the first to the scheme, it is strange indeed that Eusebius says nothing about it when explaining the notation which the reader would find on each page. Strange also that scribes should neglect so convenient an arrangement, so that it now accompanies the notation on the pages of a few MSS. only ¹.

In looking out the references for the Greek in the Eusebian Tables we frequently find (as in the case of Section 4 above) that the passage is compared with more than one parallel in one or more of the other Gospels. In the Syriac only one parallel is given at the foot of the page; the others, if any, are noted in the Tables at the beginning of the codex. To these, therefore, we must refer for a complete conspectus of the Harmonies.

The parallel passages indicated by the different numerals in the above examples are set out, and combined, in the following Table. The Greek references can be verified from the *Novum Testamentum*, Oxon. 1889²; the Syriac parallels are derived from the unpublished materials in my hands.

1 It is impossible at present to assign a date for the introduction of the Foot-harmonies into Greek MSS. They are found, e.g. in E (eighth, perhaps seventh century), but are not a prima manu in the judgment of some; in M (ninth century); in 262 (tenth century); in 199 (twelfth century); in 264 (thirteenth century)—a MS. 'with Coptic-like letters.' The earliest MS. which exhibits this arrangement is, I believe, the fragment To, probably of the sixth century (Tischendorf, Monumenta sac. ined. 1870 and Proleg. in N. T.). If its characters ('litterae litterarum in fragg. Borgianis similes,' i.e. tanquam a Copto exaratae) are an indication of its origin, it doubtless owes the Foot-harmony to the influence of Syriac Evangelia known to the scribe, for between the Copts and the Monophysites of Syria there was frequent intercourse. The Cod. Argenteus is by some assigned to the fifth century. The scheme is that of Greek MSS. If the Foot-harmony, as seems most probable, was derived from the same source, we must assign an earlier date than that suggested by To for the adoption of this plan in Greek codices. The extant Coptic MSS, are of much later date. Their sections are Greek, like those of the Gothic. Of the latter, there is a facsimile illustrating the features under discussion in Andreas Uppström's Versionis Goldicae Fragmenta, 1854. An instructive facsimile from 262 will be found in The Last Twelve Verses (Burgon), p. 305.

² Or Wordsworth's New Testament, where the Tables are rearranged to facilitate reference.

GREEK.

vii. 27	i. 23
iii. 3–6	i. 22
iii. 16	i. 15; 26, 27; 30, 31; iii. 28 i. 32-34
	iii. 16 iii. 21, 22

The passages quoted as parallels in the above are necessarily for the most part identical, both in the Greek and in the Syriac scheme. In the latter, in accordance with the principle which is followed throughout by the Syriac Harmonist, the parallels are dissected, and the portions variously manipulated; but besides, passages are quoted (viz. John i. 6-8, Mat. iii. 13, John i. 20) of which no notice is taken in the Greek. It is strange that Mat. iii. 13 should be omitted in the Greek scheme, as it is required for a parallel to Mark i. 9. The citation of John i. 20 is interesting as indicating the compiler's opinion on a point of harmony. For it may be supposed that the verse was quoted for that purpose, although, in using the term Harmony in connection with these parallels, we must bear in mind the just remark that 'a very slight examination is sufficient to show that the most ancient endeavour [in the direction of a Harmony known as the Eusebian Canons, aims as much at showing verbal as historical agreement 1. This applies equally to the Greek and the Syriac schemes 2.

¹ The Student's Gospel Harmony, Slatter, London, 1878. The accurate compiler of this useful manual may be supposed to mean, the most ancient Harmony which is extant in the complete and original form. Tatian's Distessaron is only known to us at second-hand. The controversy about Theophilus of Antioch and his writings arose subsequently to the publication of Canon Slatter's work. For Harmonies of various periods, see Fabricius, Biblioth. Gr. iv. 5. 20; Tischendorf, Synop. Evang. Proleg. viii. seq.

² An instructive example is the treatment of our Lord's Discourse at Caper-

SYRIAC.

Mark	Matthew	Luke	John			
i. I having no parallel is treated as a Title and not included in the Sections.						
2	xi. 10	vii. 27	1			
3	iii. 3	iii. 4–6	i. 23			
4	iii. I, 2					
5	iii. 5, 6	iii. 2 last part, 3	i. 6–8, iii. 23			
6	iii. 4		-			
7,8first part	iii. 11 first part	iii. 16	i. 15; 26, 27; 30, 31; iii. 28			
8 last part	iii. II last part	iii. 16	i. 33			
9	iii. 13		i. 29			
10	iii. 16	iii. 21	i. 32			
11	iii. 17	iii. 22	i. 34			

The Peshitto possesses this great advantage over some other ancient writings, that the true text depends in no respect whatever upon conjecture, but is fully assured by the testimony of a large amount of diplomatic evidence of great antiquity. Such also is the case with the Syriac scheme of Sections and Canons. They are so intimately connected with the text which they serve that they may almost be regarded as a constituent part of it.

The notation of Section and Canon in Syriac Evangelia is almost invariably a prima manu. The usual plan was to make each Section, however short, a separate paragraph, by setting in the first word far enough for the notation to stand upon the edge of the column of writing, and not outside it.

naum (John vi. 22 f.), which has clearly no historical parallel in the Synoptists, although some (as Tischendorf, Synopsis Evangelica, 1871, p. 73) would harmonize vv. 66-71 with the conversation which preceded the Transfiguration. And yet both the Greek and the Syriac scheme exhibit a number of comparisons between passages in vv. 22-65 (not to speak of the concluding section of the chapter) and passages in the other three Gospels—e. g. v. 38 is compared with our Lord's words in Gethsemane. The earliest labourer in this department of Gospel criticism, Tatian, produced an epitome of the Gospel history, if we may depend on Zahn's clever reproduction of the Diatessaron. The Eusebian system holds an intermediate place between a Gospel history, and a collection of modern marginal references. The result of employing the Sections and Canons for the construction of a harmony may be seen in a sumptuous, but useless work, entitled, Harmonia Quat. Evang. juxta Sect. Amm. et Euseb. Can. Oxon. 1805.

An example may be taken from Lord Crawford's MS., our No. 3, at St. Mat. xxvi. 6:—

Sar Koo 320 122 323 And when Jesus
was in Bethany
in the house of Simon

But in the Nestorian codex, Add. Brit. Mus. 7157 (our No. 11), the text is not broken up, but the notation is inserted between the final and initial words of the Sections, in the midst of long paragraphs; and while the Section is marked, as usual, with red, the Canon is indicated by a green letter placed after, instead of under, the Section-number.

In ancient times they were well known in various parts of the Syrian Church, and are handed down to us by many witnesses, of whom we may select eleven, all written before the close of the eighth century, and one dating from the first half of the sixth.

The MSS, are these:-

Vaticanus (S. E. Assemani, Bibl. Vat. Cat. P. 1, t. 2, p. 27 seq.;
 Adler, op. cit. pp. 3-10; Wichelhaus, Vers. Syr. Ant. 1850,
 p. 141). Written at Edessa, A. Gr. 859=A. D. 548.

The careful collation of this valuable relic of antiquity, which Adler desired, has now been undertaken by Professors Guidi and Ugolini, through the liberality of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press. It exhibits the notation of Sections with their Canons, and the Foot-harmony. The Epistle to Carpianus and the Tables were probably at one time prefixed, but at present the original writing only begins at Mat. i. 12.

2. Tetraevangelium² Florentinum I (Plut. 1, No. 56).

Assemani's account of this MS. has already (p. 242) been referred to. It was written in the Monophysite Monastery of St. John, in Beth Zagba (see Wichelhaus, p. 142; Adler, pp. 11-13) in the year 897=A.D. 586. As Adler doubted the genuineness of the epigraph, which gives the date, the following in confirmation of its

See facsimiles in British Museum Catalogues, Forshall and Rosen, 1838, W. Wright, 1872.

of MSS, of this class and age.

genuineness will be of interest. It is taken from a letter from Dr. A. Ceriani to myself, March 10, 1882, after an inspection of the MS.:—'Essa è di prima manu, e precisamente come sogliono i Siri scrivere la data dei codici. Anchè la scrittura del testo conviene all' età assegnata nella sottoscrizione.'

3. The Earl of Crawford's Tetraevangelium.

A noble volume, of which, through his lordship's kindness, I have been able to make a thorough collation. The Sections and Canons, as well as the Foot-harmony, are in agreement with the same accessories in the Cod. Florentinus. The text of Mat. i. I begins on the second quire; the first, which is now lost, doubtless contained the Tables and Epistle to Carpianus.

The late lamented Dr. Wright, after examining this MS., wrote to Lord Crawford as follows:—'There is no date, and no mention of the person or place to whom or which it originally belonged. Of the age of the MS. there can, I think, be no doubt. I should call it a fine specimen of Syriac Estrangëlā writing of the sixth century of our era.'

4. Oxoniensis (Dawkins 3).

Sections, Canons, Harmony, but wanting the Tables and Epistle. It is ascribed in the Bodleian Catalogue to the ninth century, but I understand that Dr. Wright was inclined to give it a very early date. Richard Jones, who collated it carefully at the beginning of this century (Text. S.S. Evang. Ver. Simplicis c. duobus MSS. in Bodl. repositis collatus, etc.), thought it was of nearly the same age as the Cod. Vat. described above. This is improbable. It is a carelessly written MS. in comparison with others of its class.

- 5. Londinensis (Mus. Brit. Add. 14,455).
 - Four Gospels. Sect., Can., Harm.

Apparently of the same era as Lord Crawford's codex.

6. Add. 14,449.

Four Gospels. Sect., Can., Harm. Sixth or seventh century.

7. Add. 14,458.

Similar to last-named.

8. Add. 14,445.

Sixth or seventh century. Contains St. Matthew and parts of SS. Mark and Luke, with Sec., Can., Harm. in St. Matthew only.

9. Add. 14,450.

Seventh century. Besides the Sections and Canons it once had the Tables, similar to those of the Florentine codex, but less ornamented. The Tables of the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th Canons are still extant.



10. Add. 17,114.

Four Gospels, but with many lacunae, in a Nestorian hand¹, of seventh or perhaps sixth century. Sections and Canons in St. Matthew only, but no Harmony.

For the last six MSS. see Cat. Syr. MSS. in Brit. Mus. P. 1, W. Wright, 1870.

11. Add. 7157 (Cat. MSS. Orient. Mus. Brit. P. 1, Forshall and Rosen, 1838, W. Wright, op. cit. Appendix A, p. 1203).

Written in A. Gr. 1079=A. D. 768, at Beth Kuka, a Nestorian monastery (v. Assem. *Bib. Orient.* iii. i. 308, 454) near the Lycus, in Adiabene. Its peculiar method of notation of Sections and Canons has been already mentioned. But though written under different influences, their numbers and the arrangement of the Foot-harmony agree with the same accessories of the other codices.

It is interesting to compare the weight of testimony which we have now adduced with the evidence in support of the Greek scheme. Of the codices anterior to the year A.D. 800, which exhibit the Greek Sections and Canons, some are only fragments; in some the numerals indicating the Canons of the Sections are not now legible, if they were ever expressed; sometimes (e.g. in the important cod. L, Reg. Par. 62) the Sections and Canons are so placed as to suggest that the scribe was not familiar with the use of them; again, in the Cod. Basileensis, E, they are deemed by some critics to have been inserted by a later hand. Thus the evidence for the Greek scheme, while amply sufficient for practical purposes, is not so clear and accurate as that for the Syriac scheme, and is not so abundant. Our observation illustrates what is well known

¹ For the different styles of Syriac writing, see Assemani, Bib. Orient. iii. iii. 377 seq., the Plates in the British Museum and Bodleian Catalogues, J. P. N. Land's Anecdota Syriaca, and W. Wright in Preface to B. M. Syr. MSS. Cat. pp. xxix-xxxii. As early as the close of the sixth century (if not earlier) a divergence of writing had arisen between Eastern and Western Syrians. A MS. (Add. 14,460) written among the Nestorians in the neighbourhood of Naarda, in Babylonia, A.D. 600, already exhibits that type of writing which developed such distinct characteristics in the following centuries. With this style, the hand of our No. 10 has many affinities: it has also Nestorian vowelmarks, though these are not pr. m., and altogether may be considered as belonging to the same class as 7157 (=No. 11) which tells its own story. For Nestorian MSS. see Wichelhaus, op. cit. lib. iii. c. iv; Adler, pp. 19-39. For the computation of dates see Nicolas' Chronology, p. 10.

to the very few scholars who have devoted their time to the careful collation of Syriac documents. They were inscribed with almost mechanical precision, and (speaking of the Holy Scriptures) so many accurate copies of very ancient date have survived, that certainty is secured, and conjecture has no place; because the occasional itacism, or other *lapsus calami*, can almost invariably be corrected by diplomatic evidence.

The late Dean Burgon (op. cit.) raised the question, but left it to others to decide, whether Eusebius may not himself have published the more numerous Sections, now extant only in the Syriac ¹. Bishop Lightfoot ² justly objects that there are no grounds for such a conclusion, and Dean Burgon once informed the writer that subsequent study had long since brought him to the same opinion. That Eusebius should have put forth a simpler, and a more elaborate, system of parallels, is most improbable. That the Syriac form is based upon the Greek scheme no one can doubt after an examination of even the one example only which we have set out in extenso above. The more perfect and complete Syriac scheme is clearly a development of the Greek.

And this reasonable conclusion is confirmed by the arrangement of the Tetraevan. Florent. I. The scribe first gives a version (in some respects rather a paraphrase) of the Epistle of Eusebius to Carpianus: then follow the Ten Tables of Canons, identical with the Greek (the numbering of the Sections, of course, being changed) except that in Canon VIII the order is Mark, Luke, instead of Λουκαs, Μαρκος: then the Four Gospels, divided into Sections on the Syriac plan. There is no indication that the Greek Sections were different, nor a hint that the convenient arrangement of the Harmony at the foot of the page was a Syriac improvement. The reader is left to suppose that these accessories of the Peshitto text were obtained from Eusebius: he is not informed to what extent the Syriac critics have improved upon the work of the Greek historian.

¹ The date of the Ep. ad Carp. is not known, but about A. D. 330 Eusebius was multiplying copies of the Scriptures: see Vit. Const. iv. 36, 37.

² Art. 'Eusebius' in Dictionary of Christian Biography.



We cannot adduce the same amount of evidence for the *Epistle* and the *Tables* which we have for the *Sections* and *Canons*. Many ancient codices which contain the latter accessories are destitute of the former because they are now mutilated at the beginning: in their perfect state they probably exhibited the same matter which is happily still extant in the Florentine codex. Of the manuscripts described above (pp. 250-252), the Epistle and Tables are prefixed in No. 2 and are complete; in No. 9, four of the Tables only are still extant, and not the Epistle.

We have besides:-

1. Cod. Mus. Brit. Additionalis 17,213.

Probably a fragment of a copy of the Gospels. Contains the latter half of the Epistle: also Canons 1 and 2, much mutilated. Sixth century.

2. Cod. Add. 17,224.

Paper leaf of thirteenth century, containing about as much of the Epistle as the last-named MS. It also is a fragment of a copy of the Gospels.

3. Cod. Parisiensis.

Numbered 33 in the Catalogue des MSS. Syr. de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Partly sixth, partly twelfth century. The older containing the greater part of the Epistle, with the Tables of Canons.

4. Tetraevangelium Florentinum II.

Catalogued as Plut. 1, cod. 58, and, according to Adler (*Vers. Syr.*), written before the ninth century. It exhibits a copy of the Epistle, apparently identical with that in the more famous Cod. Flor. already described ¹.

The following is the text of the form in which the Epistle of Eusebius to Carpianus was known to the early Syrian Church. It is here printed for the first time, with a literal Latin translation ².

¹ For information about the last two MSS. I am indebted to the courtesy of M. Samuel Berger, and of Dr. Bruto Teloni.

³ The Greek Epistle was published by Robert Stephens (ed. 1550), and reproduced by Mill; also, with varr. lects. in Tischendorf's Test. Gr. (Proleg.), 1884. The text seems corrupt.

Rozas 12 manesa lajenam distra

المعدس كدوساوه الس وسحد حصبه علمه المحدد كور المحدد ك

مدم باتم، المعل بالكلال مد مجمعه كتبريا: مدات مدمه مدمه

مسه به المراد (معل المحرال المد مخصد حسرواد هما حدما

20 منه واقحط: انط والحطا ادت مجمده حتبوا: مدات مدعده

منه، بسعما: اسط باقع به مجمده حسبباد هدا حدماه منه، بمحلا: اسط باقع اهد مجمده حسبباد هدا هنهدهه منه، بلمحل: اسط باقع اهد مجمده حسبباد هدا دسته ه منه، بلمحل: اسط باقع اهد مجمده حسبباد هدا دسته ه منه، بلمحل: اسط باقع اهد مجمده حسبباد هدا دسته ه منه، بلمحل: اسط باقع اهد مجمده حسبباد حدما دسته ه منه، بلمحل: اسط باقع اهد مجمد حسبباد حدما دسته ه منه، بلمحل: اسط باقع مدم محمد اقدما دسته المحمد مدمد المحمد مدمده المحمد المحم

هدا هده هده معدا بقده المحداهدي بي كدا المحداد هداد بحد سر مع اقددهده باقده المحدود وبالله معدا مداراد در معدا مع مادراد در معدا مع مردد المدرد مدارد من المدارد در معداد در المدرد الم

هخره حاسل هع حصرا مدوسه الموهد وه وه مل هسدا والرود ومل المرد الم

اسب مده المحل به مع اقدده من الما الله و الما الله و الما و المحل الله و المحل الله و المحل الله و المحل الله الله و المحل الله و المحل الله الله الله و المحل الله و المحل الله و المحل الله و الله

محم موس عتبيا المسعد: على القديم المسعدا المسعدا المسعدات المعلم المسعدات
¹ The text is mainly that of the Tetraev. Flor. I of A. D. 586. P. E. Pusey had transcribed a part: an entire copy has been supplied by Dr. Teloni, to whom, as well as to other scholars, who have helped me in many ways, I here express my thanks. The variations exhibited by our other authorities, and in some cases received, are trivial, and hardly worth mentioning here. I have ventured to make one emendation. The Florentine MSS, both read (1. 2), for \\,\,\,\,\ and our other authorities are unfortunately all mutilated at the commencement of the Epistle. No doubt, from the concurrence of three I's, one has fallen out. The later Florentine codex may very likely be a copy of the earlier one, or of the prototype of both. The mechanical method of the Syriac professional scribe, although it has tended to preserve the text with something of the accuracy of printing, yet sometimes favoured the transmission of errors, for not all copies were subjected to the careful revision which some received. If instead of \(\sigma\) intulit, we retain \(\sigma\), we must render— 'multa, ut videtur, industria et amore laboris multo hoc [opus] ingressus est et Evangelium,' etc.; but the Syriac context does not naturally express the instrumental ablative, nor does this rendering suit the Greek.

EPISTOLA QUAM SCRIPSIT EUSEBIUS AD CARPIANUM DE EXPLICATIONE CANONUM QUOS FECIT.

Eusebius Carpiano fratri et dilecto meo in Domino nostro, Salutem!

Ammonius Alexandrinus, multam, ut videtur, industriam, et amorem laboris multum huic [operi] intulit, et Evangelium Diatessaron nobis reliquit. Operam enim impendit multam in Evangelium Mattai; et sectionum, quae restabant, Evangelistarum trium sociorum ejus eas comparavit, quae sibi concordant, secuit, ad hunc modum collocavit¹: ita ut fiat ut necessario perdatur nexus 5 ordinatorum verborum Evangelistarum ex composita eorum [verborum] lectione per id ipsum quod fecit. Itaque, ut conservetur corpus totum completum plene, necnon ordo verborum Evangelistarum quattuor, et ut ut cognoscas loca verborum Illorum, ubicunque sibi concordaverint, en tibi sunt numeri inscripti, super Evangelistas 10 singulos, in locis idoneis: ut amicus veritatis fateor, nos a labore viri illius, quem supra diximus, occasionem nactos esse; et alia ratione decem Canones tibi designavi, qui infra inscribuntur.

Canon primus: hoc continentur numeri [locorum] ubi multa conjuncte quattuor Evangelistae dixerunt, et sibi concordaverunt, Mattai, Marcus, Lucas, Juchanan.

Canon secundus: ubi tres sibi concordaverunt, Mattai, Marcus, Lucas.

Canon tertius: ubi item tres sibi concordaverunt, Mattai, Lucas,

Canon quartus: ubi item tres sibi concordaverunt, Mattai, Mar- 20 cus, Juchanan.

Canon quintus: ubi duo sibi concordaverunt, Mattai, Lucas.

Canon sextus: ubi item duo sibi concordaverunt, Mattai, Marcus.

Canon septimus: ubi item duo sibi concordaverunt, Mattai, Juchanan.

Canon octavus: ubi duo item sibi concordaverunt, Marcus, Lucas. 25 Canon nonus: ubi duo item sibi concordaverunt, Lucas, Juchanan.

Canon decimus: ubi unusquisque ex Evangelistis quattuor singulatim, de rebus diversis, ipse solus scripsit, Mattai, Marcus, Lucas. Juchanan.

Ita se habet res Canonum; eorum autem clara expositio haec 30 est:—In unoquoque e quattuor Evangelistis numerorum ordo ponitur; ab uno incipit, et duobus, et tribus; et usque procedit



ipse numerus, per totum Evangelium, ad finem libri. Et unicuique e numeris subest signum Canonis, minio depictum: et hoc 35 indicat apud quem e decem Canonibus sit hic numerus; et ita quidem, quasi dicat aliquis, [i. e. exempli gratia] si designetur unus, liqueat apud Canonem primum esse; et si duo, apud Canonem secundum; et si tres, apud Canonem tertium: ad hunc modum usque [exitum] decem Canonum.

Si igitur evolvas unum e quattuor Evangelistis, et tibi sumas 40 prima [capituli] verba, undecunque placeat; ut cognoscas quis ex Evangelistis eadem verba dixerit, utrum quattuor, an tres, an duo; atque ut cognoscas loca verborum Illorum, in quibus sibi concordaverint: sume numerum Canonis minio depictum quem ante te habes, 45 ad signum [capituli] quod sumpsisti; et recurrens ad numeros qui in principio libri jacent, intra columnas parvas, eundem quaere in eo Canone quem signum minio depictum tibi ostendit, et inveni numeros inscriptos [quibus significatur] quis aut quam multi ex Evangelistis dixerint de eo [loco] cujus signum habes: deinde statim disces qui sint numeri principii [capituli] quod quaeris, ex eis numeris qui intra librum ipsum inscripti sunt, in margine foliorum. Et quum enumerationi versuum cum Canonibus eorum 50 institeris, invenies Evangelistas illos quattuor, in verbis suis sibi concordantes, Mattai, Marcus, Lucas, Juchanan.

Itaque hi numeri apponuntur ne verba Evangelistarum quattuor abscindantur a verbis sequentibus, nec perdatur nexus ordinis eorum; tantum ut numeri mutentur, alius in alium, quibus indicetur Evangelistas sibi concordare, et perstet lectio ordinata verborum quattuor Illorum integra, qui sunt Mattai, Marcum, Lucam, Juchanan.

Explicit Epistola Eusebii de explicatione Canonum.

The earlier part of this Syriac version of Eusebius' Epistle is a fair rendering of the original, but the latter part has become a paraphrase in the attempt to make the somewhat obscure Greek intelligible. Two places should be noticed. The Greek corresponding to ll. 11, 12 is:—τοὺς οἰκείους ἐκάστου εὐαγγελιστοῦ τόπους, ἐν οἶς κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἢνέχθησαν φιλαλήθως εἰπεῖν. The translator has punctuated after ἢνέχθησαν, and joined φιλαλήθως εἰπεῖν to what follows—... Evangelistas singulos, in locis idoneis: ut amicus veritatis fateor nos a labore illius...—Again, and more worthy of remark, ἀφορμὰς is represented by].... nos occasionem

nactos esse—and the meaning intended is, that Eusebius worked out his scheme in consequence of what Ammonius had attempted. This agrees with the rendering 'hint' in Last Twelve Verses, p. 127¹.

Fabricius, writing of the Eusebian Sections and Canons², did not overstate the case when he remarked, 'frequens illorum usus fuit in Ecclesiis Orientis pariter et Occidentis, ut ex Codd. MSS. Bib. in variis versionibus notarunt viri docti.' Although now superseded by the modern marginal references (which are but a further development and much wider extension of the same principle), they were considered in former ages important accessories of the text3. We have spoken of the use made of them by the Copts, and in the Gothic Version. They were derived to the Ethiopic apparently from an Arabic source — of course in the Greek form 4. Armenian Evangelia for the most part exhibit them. are found in Latin MSS., in a minority of those of the earlier type 5, and in a majority of those of Jerome's revision. some of the latter a version of the Epistle to Carpianus is prefixed, which is also paraphrased by Jerome in his Epistola ad Damasum 6.

The case of the Philoxenian, and its Charclean revision, is more immediately connected with our main subject. Of the two Codices Ridleiani, in the Library of New College, which

¹ For Eusebius, and his relation to the work of Ammonius, see Mill's *Prolegomena* (ss. 658-666, 738-744, ed. Küster, 1723). Other authorities are cited by Lloyd, *Nov. Test. Gr.* (ed. 1883, p. xi).

³ Bibliotheca Graeca, v. 4. 15. He gives a version of the Epistle, which Migne (Patrol. Gr.) has reproduced. See also Wordsworth's N. T. i. 6.

³ Taking some fifty Syriac Evangelia, described in *Brit. Mus. Syr. Cat.* p. i, as a sample of works of this class, we find that Peshitto MSS. were usually furnished with these accessories during the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries. Charclean MSS. exhibit them at a much later period (e.g. the Paris MS., written in the Edessene Monastery of Beth Achsenaja, A. D. 1212), but not, I think, those of the Peshitto text.

⁴ Catalogus Codd. Orient. Mus. Brit. P. iii, ed. A. Dillmann, 1847.

⁵ Cod. Rhedig. (l), seventh century, has a Foot-Harmony according to C. R. Gregory in *Tisch. Test. Gr. Proleg.* p. 144.

See Bishop Wordsworth's N. T. i. 3: for details in regard to the Armenian MSS. I am indebted to Professor Margoliouth.



were used for the editio princeps of the Versio Syriaca Philoxeniana [Oxford, 1778], the older (parchment) MS. does not contain any of these accessories, except that the text is divided by red stars into Sections, which seem to correspond to the (Greek) Ammonian. The later (paper) codex, which was ascribed by Lee 1 to the ninth century, gives the Greek scheme, and, besides, a version of Eusebius' Epistle, adapted to the archetype in the same way as the text of the Gospels has been accommodated to the Greek 2. On the other hand, a Vatican MS, of uncertain date, but certainly ancient (Vat. 268, formerly Assem. 11—not q, as Adler), perhaps marks the custom of the transition period, before the Greek system was wholly adopted in the Grecized Charclean. Its Sections are on the Syriac plan, and are compared with those of the great Florentine codex by S. E. Assemani³. Another Florentine MS. of the year 757 exhibits what is apparently a mixed system, the numbers being Mat. 360, Mark 240, Luke 348, John 232. In the judgment of Adler 4, but not of Bernstein 5, this MS. is a copy of the Ante-Charclean text.

الموروب به المالي الموسود به المالي المعلق المعلق المعلق المعلق الموسود الماروب المعلق الموسود الماروب المعلق الموسود الماروب المعلق الموسود الماروب المعلق الماروب ا

م به علم الله حل هديدا بهدى بعنها اداتيكسها هدى بحك عدد الله عدد

These passages will suffice for proof of the above statement.

¹ See his note in the volume itself; but in Coxe's Catalogue it is ascribed to the eleventh century. I agree with Professor Margoliouth that the latter is the more probable date.

^{*} The Epistle begins thus:-

³ Ap. White, Vers. Syr. Philox. Tom. ii. p. 642. Assemani was misled by the epigraph at the end of St. John, which alludes to the history of this Version, and thought this codex itself was written by Thomas of Charkel. See Adler, op. cit. p. 63 (he gives a facsimile in his Tab. vi); Bernstein, Heil. Evang. des Johannes, 1853, Krit. Anmerk. p. 2. According to Adler (whom Tischendorf quotes, N.T., St. Luke, p. 738, ed. 1869), the numbers are Mat. 426, Mark 200, Luke 402, John 232. Mark 200 is probably a slip for 290. If John 232 be correct, the Greek Sections have been introduced into the last Gospel.

⁴ Op. cit. p. 55.

⁵ Op. cit. p. 2.

The variations in the notation of Sections and Canons in the above-named MSS. are in marked contrast with the consistency of those of the Peshitto. From the testimony of the latter we infer that the Syrian system was universally, and alone, received, wherever the Peshitto Version was in use, at least as early as the sixth century. Earlier diplomatic evidence is lacking: the very few MSS.¹ of the Holy Gospels which can be assigned with any probability to the preceding century, are not furnished with these divisions. Others, however, which have perished, might have exhibited them. And indirect evidence can be adduced.

For it is known that many of the works of Eusebius were translated into Syriac at a very early period. version of his 'Ecclesiastical History' in a MS. dated 462 of our era, and now preserved in the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg. In the British Museum, we find in the Cod. Add. 12,1502, among other translations from Greek authors, Eusebius' Theophania, History of the Palestinian Martyrs, and Panegyric on the Martyrs. This MS. is dated, according to our era, 411 or 412; but we must go back still earlier for the date of the first appearance of these writings of Eusebius in their Syriac dress. The codex is a Collection of Treatises; it is not an autograph Translation of Eusebius; in fact, the text affords in itself evidence of having passed through the hands of successive scribes 3. It is reasonable to suppose that the works of Eusebius were in part, if not in whole, translated into Syriac within the lifetime of the author4; and for the place of such translations we turn, of

¹ Such as Cod. Add. Mus. Brit. 14,459 (cf. Studia Biblica, 1885, No. VIII), Add. 17,117, 'fifth, or beginning of sixth century;' Add. 14,453 and 14,470, 'fifth or sixth century;' Catalogue British Museum.

² Cat. Syr. MSS. in Brit. Mus. ii. p. 631. Cureton, Festal Letters of Athanasius, p. xv f.

³ See Lightfoot, op. cit.; Wright, art. 'Syriac Literature' in Encyclopaedia Britannica, 9th ed.—'opus plenissimum, 1237 notae marginales,' Nestle, Syr. Gr.

See (in reference to the Ecclesiastical History) A. Merz, Atti del iv Congr. intern. degli Orientalisti.



course, to Edessa, and its famous school. In that city was written the Cod. Add. 12,150, and here, besides the great original writers, like Ephrem, flourished such students as Maanes, the translator of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Proba, the Nestorian translator of Aristotle 1. One of the Bishops of this eminent Syrian See, Rabula, who died in 435, corresponded with Cyril of Alexandria², and received from him copies of his works for translation and publication at Edessa 3. It is not unreasonable to suppose that Eusebius also had a friend 4 to undertake a similar office for him in the city, which, a century before Rabula's time, had already become a chief centre of Syriac culture and biblical study. We conclude then that the critical work of Eusebius upon the Tetraevangelium was quickly known among the Doctors of the School of Edessa. And it is reasonable to suppose that their expansion of Eusebius' scheme was published before the dissolution of the school under the Emperor Zeno, towards the close of the fifth century; for we have already seen that diplomatic evidence shows that the Peshitto text was circulated in copies furnished with the Sections and Canons early in the sixth century, if not in the fifth.

It is also significant that the majority of the oldest codices which exhibit the Sections and Canons are of Western, or Monophysite origin ⁵. That they are also found in some later Nestorian MSS. may perhaps indicate that these accessories were the common property of the Syrian Church, before the

- 1 See Wright, op. cit.; Etheridge's Syrian Churches.
- ² Overbeck, Opera Selecta (Ephraemi aliorumque), 1865.

³ In a seventh century Brit. Mus. MS. (Add. 14,557, fol. 97) we find, amongst other translations of Greek writings, the Treatise De Recta Fide, t. ix. col. 1133 in Patrol. Gr. lxxvi, with the following inscription:—'The Tract on the Humanity of our Lord, which Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, addressed to the Emperor Theodosius, and sent a copy thereof to the holy Rabula, Bishop of Edessa, and he translated it from Greek into Aramaean,' i.e. the Edessene dialect, cf. Thes. Syr. col. 389.

⁴ Eusebius seems to have known Syriac : certainly he had access to Edessene writers.—*Hist. Eccl.* i. 13.

⁵ Our eleven codices (pp. 250-252) are a fair specimen of the different Collections. Only one, No. 11, is certainly of Nestorian origin. No. 10 I should class with it, but its notation of Sections, etc., is incomplete.

rupture of the fifth century, and the establishment of the Nestorian School at Nisibis¹. But, on the other hand, it is certain that these rival bodies were not unwilling to borrow, and to imitate each other's critical methods². But on either supposition, it is clear that the exegetical studies necessary for the elaboration of the Syrian harmonizing system, must have been pursued at a very early period among the Syriac-speaking Christians. Their diligence in comparing the ipsissima verba of the Tetraevangelium (for their scheme demanded an independent compilation, although on a borrowed ³ design) is, perhaps, in favourable contrast with those other characteristics by which the rival sects of Eastern Christendom are more commonly known.

The subject investigated, while in itself possibly of minor importance, has suggested notices and considerations which, it is believed, are here brought together for the first time. But besides such points of antiquarian interest, the Syriac system of Sections and Canons has an absolute critical value, (I) as a witness to the integrity and antiquity of the Peshitto text; and (II) as showing the estimate in which that text

¹ For this city, see *Theeaurus Syr.* (R. Payne Smith), col. 2440. An account of the 'Syrorum schola in Nisibi' was given by Junilius Africanus in the sixth century—quoted in Westcott's *Canon of the N. T.*, Ap. D, p. 506.

The lines (sectiones majores) of which there are in Mat. 22, in Mark 13, in Luke 23, in John 20, are found a prima mans in the Nestorian codices, Add. 14,460 (A. D. 600), 14,448 (apparently A. D. 699-700); they were added by later possessors to the Jacobite codices, Add. 14,470, 17,117, and several others. I do not think they are expressed p. m. in early MSS, of this class. Probably they were adopted from another school. Both amongst the Eastern and the Western Syrians critical studies were pursued, resembling those of the Jewish Massoretes. Wiseman (Horae Syriacae) describes a MS, embodying such criticisms, which is dated A. Gr. 1291 = A. D. 980. This has sometimes been called, but inappropriately, 'the Karkaphensian Version.' The Nestorian Massoretic MS. (Add. 12,138) is dated A. D. 899. See the Brit. Mss. Syr. Cat., and various Tracts by the Abbé Martin.

³ The Divisions known as τίτλοι were borrowed by the Syriac scribes, but rearranged, so that each first τίτλοι begins with the commencement of the Gospel; an improvement on the Greek plan (Mill, ed. Küster, ss. 354-360). See a good account of these and other divisions in Syriac MSS. in the American Journal of the Soc. of Bib. Lit. and Exegesis, paper by J. H. Hall, vol. June-Dec., 1882. In our No. 11 (p. 252) the half (βήματα) are marked.

was held in the Schools and Monasteries of Syria at a very remote period.

- I. In illustration of the former remark, we may consider the witness of the system in the following important places:
- 1. St. Mat. xxviii. 9—end is in the Greek one Section (355), in the tenth Canon: in the Syriac system it is resolved into five Sections, of which the words that follow v. 18 of the Greek, احداد المعادة الم
- 2. St. Mark xvi (of which Tischendorf says¹, 'nec Ammonii sectionibus nec Eusebii canonibus agnoscuntur ultimi versus') affords, from vv. 9-20 inclusive, nine Sections in the Syriac system, some of which are quoted in the harmonies appended to the other three Evangelists. There can be no doubt whatever that these verses formed an integral part of the Peshitto from the earliest times. It will be remembered also that they are found in the Curetonian which, for other purposes, is of great authority with those who dispute the genuineness of this passage.
- 3. St. Luke xxii. 17, 18. These verses are omitted in Widmanstadt, the passage being one of those to which the editor calls attention, as exhibiting a remarkable variation between the Greek and the Syriac. Syriac, to correspond to the Greek, has been introduced into later printed books, and strange to say, is given by Schaaf without remark, although he was so industrious in collecting variants. Had the passage been recognised by the Syriac scribes of the fifth century, it would certainly have obtained a place in Canon 10, as a Section peculiar to St. Luke. But it is unknown to the arrangement of Sections, and has no place in Peshitto MSS.
- 4. But while the witness of the Sections is valuable, because unimpeachable, where the text is broken into short portions, it will fail us sometimes as a test of the integrity of the text, on account of the great length of many Sections, where the matter is peculiar

¹ Nor. Test. Gr. in loc. This is controverted by Burgon (op. cit., Ap. G) to whom C. R. Gregory (*Prolegomena in N. T. Tischen.*, 1884, p. 153) attempts to make some reply.

to one Gospel. Thus, as to the disputed passages, St. John v. 3, 4, vii. 53-viii. 11, we learn nothing from the Harmony, because each forms part of a longer capitulum in Canon 10.

II. And in reference to the second consideration already indicated, it will be remembered that the authors of the Syrian system of Sections and Canons were associated with those who were familiar with Greek writings, and must have been acquainted with good codices of the Greek New Testament. They could not have failed to observe that between their vernacular Bible, and various codices of the Greek text, there were not inconsiderable differences. The desire for a more accurate representation of the original induced Philoxenus and Thomas at a later period to attempt a revision of the Syriac². But we have seen that, so far from revision, those who borrowed Eusebius' Sections and Canons deliberately devoted their energies to the work of dissecting and harmonizing the ancient Syriac text3. In such an expenditure of labour upon the Peshitto, they may have been ill-advised: ignorant of the means of improving their Bible they cannot have been. They lived in intercourse 4 with those to whom the Greek of the New Testament was still the mother-tongue. In the hands of their Greek friends and teachers were copies of the New Testament, of which some must certainly have been older than any which have survived to our days. If

¹ In Greek and Latin Evangelia many variae lectiones are to be traced to the Harmonists (see Scrivener, Introduction, 2nd ed., p.12; Mill, Prolegomena, 742), but Syriac copies have not been affected by this cause to the same extent.

³ This is implied in the colophons of Charclean MSS., quoted in Adler and White (opp. citt.), and the similar note found in the Cod. Angelicus (Adler, p. 59), which MS., though of uncertain age, was believed by Bernstein to exhibit the Pre-Charclean, or true Philoxenian text. See his Heilige Evan. des Joh. p. 3, and De Charklen. N. T. translat., 1837.

³ The absence of the Sections and Canons from Cureton's MS. (Add. 14,451) is not evidence for the relatively greater antiquity of the Curetonian Version, because these accessories are also absent from the coeval Peshitto MS., Add. 14,459. The same is true of another, perhaps as old, Cod. Add. 14,470. The only inference from these facts is a slight presumption against the introduction of the Sectional system before the sixth century.

⁴ Rabula preached at Constantinople: part of the Sermon is in the Cod. Add. 14,652, and is given by Overbeck, op. cit.



those codices exhibited a text of the 'Antiochian, or Graeco-Syrian' type 1, and therefore in agreement with the Peshitto text for the most part, though with important differences 2, then can that type of text claim the authority of a great antiquity. But if the students of the Peshitto found on the contrary that the oldest and best MSS. of their Greek brethren represented rather what have survived to us as the 'Apostolic Readings of the Pre-Syrian text,' yet they clung to their own Bible; they attempted no alteration of the text; and they deliberately assigned to it the very highest value as the record of the deeds and words of the Lord 3. It may be said that they were blinded by prejudice, even to the extent of regarding their Peshitto as inspired. This is hard to believe of men of the character and learning of the best Syriac writers and teachers of the sixth and preceding centuries. And it is certain, though seldom admitted, that they had access to information about the antiquity and authority of the Syriac Versions, to which we cannot at present refer. For we view through long lapse of ages events from which those men were not far removed in time. Fresh discoveries, and better knowledge of what is already available, are demanded before we can, with reason, set aside their judgment.

¹ See Burgon, *The Revision Revised*, Art. iii. 257 seq., for an account of the supposed origin and history of the Pre-Syrian and Antiochian texts.

² Such as those we have noticed above: see also Syrus Interpres e. fonte N. T. Gr. (i. e. the Textus Receptus) collatus, J. G. Reusch, 1742. The Canon of the Peshitto differed from that of Antioch, and in the opinion of some was still more limited at an earlier period. Westcott, op. cit. i. iii. 221; Zahn, Forschungen (Tatian's Diatessaron), 91, 92, and Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons, i. 369; Bert, Aphrahat's des Persischen Weisen Homilien; Phillips, Doctrine of Addai, p. 46.

³ On the importance of the Peshitto in this respect, and on the great critical value of ancient versions of authors, see the opinion of the learned Dr. S. C. Malan in St. John translated from the eleven oldest Versions, 1862, p. vii.

⁴ A similar opinion has been held by some modern Syrian Christians, according to Buchanan, Christian Researches (10th ed., p. 114 and n.), and authorities quoted in A Translation of the Peshito-Syriac of Hebrews, etc., Norton, 1889. Proof need not here be given that even in St. Matthew the Peshitto is a translation. On the language used by our Lord, see Dr. Neubauer's important essay, No. III, in the former volume of Studia Biblion.

APPENDIX I.

As regards the Four Gospels, Widmanstadt states that they were printed from two MSS., which in the Preface he calls 'vetustissima,' and in the Colophon 'singularis fidei exemplaria.' The Pauline Epistles, Acts, and Catholic Epistles he treats as a second part of the work, and prefixes a different Dedication. Of MS. authority for this part he says nothing beyond the following, appended to the title of the Three Epistles:—'Reliquae S.S.S. Petri, Johannis, et Judae Epistolae una cum Apocalypsi, etsi extent apud Syros, tamen in exemplaribus quae sequuti sumus, defuerunt.'

From statements in the *Dedication* prefixed to the *Gospels* it would appear that Widmanstadt might have had access to the following authorities:—

- The codex belonging to Teseo Ambrogio, whom he met at Reggio, and which contained the Four Gospels.
- 2. The Syriac Evangelia which Widmanstadt found in the Ptolemean Library at Sienna.
- 3. The New Testament brought by Moses of Mardin.
- 4. The MS. brought by Postel from Damascus.

It is not quite clear whether Teseo entrusted Widmanstadt with his MS., or only gave him extracts from it. Something considerable is implied by the 'Thesei munus splendidissimum,' and Widmanstadt does not mention any subsequent occasion on which he might have received this gift. The small portions published a few years afterwards by Teseo himself, might well have been printed from 'copy' already prepared before Widmanstadt's visit. Of No. 2, Widmanstadt says that he made a transcript for himself. No. 4 is the one afterwards known as the 'Cologne MS.' Its readings were collected by Rapheleng and differ so greatly from the Widmanstadt text, that we may conclude it was not employed for the editio princeps.

¹ Mat. vi. 9-13, xxii. 1-14; Luke i. 46-55; John i. 16, 17.

² See Biblia Regia, Antwerp, 1572, the Heb. O. T. and Syr. N. T. in 8vo., Plantin, 1574, and the List of Variants appended to Schaal's Syr. N. T.; also Land's Anecd. Syr. i. p. 6. P. J. Bruns collated this MS., and the Wolfenbüttel cod. of A. D. 634, with the printed text. The Cologne MS. shows signs of having been conformed (itself, or its prototype) to the Greek. 'Bemerkungen, etc.,' von P. J. Bruns, in Repertorium für Bibl. s. Morg. Litt. xv, xvi, 1785.



It is almost certain therefore that one of the 'duo exemplaria' would be the Sienna transcript: the other might be Teseo's MS., or that of Moses. The remainder of the New Testament must have been printed from Moses' MS., but in the note to the Catholic Epistles the editor probably refers to the Postel MS. as further authority for his omissions ¹.

I had supposed ² that Widmanstadt's MSS. might be at Vienna, but an enquiry kindly made by my learned friend, Mr. Reginald L. Poole, has elicited the information that the only Syriac MS. in the Imperial Library (and this collection includes those formerly in the University Library) is a copy made by Moses of Mardin himself, and left as a present to the Emperor. Some of Widmanstadt's MSS. are now in the Royal Library at Munich³, but none connected with the editio princeps of the Syriac N.T.

It is probable that Moses took his own MS. away with him, after the edition was printed.

Adler has some remarks on supposed affinities between Nestorian copies and the Vienna edition; but many resemblances can also be traced between it and the later Jacobite copies, such as Lord Crawford's valuable MS. of the whole Syriac New Testament's. These affinities consist chiefly of those grammatical changes which were made in the seventh and eighth centuries in MSS. of both Schools. The Vienna edition has not the famous Nestorian reading at Heb. ii. 9 (100) (

In 1539 Teseo published the portions of the Gospels named above. This was, apparently, the first Syriac printed from movable types. The letters and vowel points greatly resemble those in Widmanstadt, though far inferior in beauty of execution. The text of the small portions is substantially the same as Widmanstadt's, but in Mat. vi. 12 he gives produce our debts and

¹ He says of Postel (*Dedic.* p. 25), 'minime vulgare nobis attulit adjumentum.'

² Studia Biblica, 1885, p. 153, n. 2.

³ Cat. Munich Library, i. 4.

⁴ Ver. Syr. pp. 39-41; but see Wichelhaus, op. cit. p. 217.

⁵ Of which Dr. Gwynn, Reg. Prof., Dublin. is preparing a full account. It is, of course, a different codex from the *Tetraevangelium* described p. 251 above.

our sins, for which there seems no other authority. Teseo's teachers were Maronites 1, and I am not aware that he shows any knowledge of the Nestorian characters, although his pages 2 exhibit a great variety of alphabets. It may fairly be concluded that Teseo's Syriac Evangelia were of Western type. The Postel MS., brought from Damascus, and that in the hands of the Monophysite Moses, wherever written, and of whatever age 3, could hardly have been of a different School from Teseo's codex. The Sienna MS. is alone doubtful, but the probability is great that it also came either from the Lebanon, or from the Monophysites of Egypt.

- ¹ See authorities in Art. in Ch. Quart. Rev. quoted on p. 242 n.
- ³ Teseo's work is a very rare book, and is interesting as an early attempt to produce a 'Manual of Languages.' But it contains much irrelevant matter, including a description of a kind of Bagpipes, which belonged to his uncle, and, mirabile dicts: an autograph reply by the Devil to an invocation. But alas! the reader is left in the dark about the signification of the Satanic characters. The title of the work is, Introductio in Chaldaicam linguam, Syriacam, atque Armenicam, et decem alias linguas. Theseo Ambrosic authore. MDXXXIX.
- ³ According to Masius (who in his Joenae Imper. Hist. first applied Syriac to the criticism of the LXX) Moses' MS. was an old copy, written at Mozul (Introd. in Gram. Syr.), and it is not likely that he would be misinformed. The correspondence between Masius and Moses was published by Andrew Müller, Berlin, 1673.

270

APPENDIX II.

THE frontispiece to this volume represents a page (fol. 91 verso) of the Vatican copy of the Peshitto Gospels, our No. 1 on p. 250 above. The negative was taken in Rome under the supervision of Drs. Guidi and Ugolini, whose kind assistance I gratefully acknowledge, and is as satisfactory a photograph as could reasonably be expected considering the condition of the MS.1 It affords a sufficient illustration of the arrangement of Sections and Canons, and shows the Foot-harmony below the right-hand column; the writing at the foot of the other column is illegible. The characters are in that large and beautiful Estrangelo hand which was in use in the sixth century, especially for MSS. of the Scriptures. It would have been easy to have selected from MSS. in England a page entirely free from the blemishes which disfigure our illustration, but the Roman MS. was chosen as being of special interest because its origin is known, and its great antiquity is fixed by exact date.

The passage exhibited is St. Mark xv. 12.... will ye then, etc., to the last word of ver. 22. The commencement of each Section is indicated by the setting in of the initial word, and by the numeral: the conclusion, by the mark [• • •], with more or less space, according to the exigencies of the writing. The Sections indicated in the specimen are:—

At ver. 14 $^{247}_{2}$; middle of same ver. $^{248}_{1}$; at ver. 15 $^{249}_{1}$; at ver. 16 $^{250}_{1}$; at ver. 20 $^{251}_{6}$; same ver.—and led Him out,— $^{252}_{4}$; at ver. 21 $^{253}_{2}$; at ver. 22 $^{254}_{1}$. Section 255 begins with the first word of the next page.

¹ Dr. Ugolini writes:—'Il codice trovasi in cattivo stato, ed in ogni pagina mostra i tristissimi effetti dell' acque del Nilo.'

'Porro quum codex hic una cum caeteris Nitriensibus mense Julio, anno 1707, in coenosis Nili vorticibus submersus aliquandiu delituisset, sie fuit luto infectus et humore madefactus, ut de admiranda scripturae venustate multum deperierit.' Biblioth. Vat. Codd. MSS. Catalogus, Assemani, 1758, P. i, t. 2, p. 35.

Bianchini in Evangeliarium Quadruplex Lat. Vers. Antiquae, 1748, gave a specimen page—St. Matt. ix. 18.... on to work, ver. 28—with three facsimiles from other codices; but the plate represents very inadequately the style and beauty of the handwriting of the Vatican MS.

At Sect. 254 a Lesson begins, which is indicated by a mark [+] against the initial word. The other mark [#] appears to indicate the conclusion of the preceding Lesson. In the margin we read:—

« مَ دهله عجم دحزه دها» «

i. e. L" of the third hour of Friday.

This, and the majority of the indications of Lessons, are in a much later hand than the text: a few, however, are inserted in the text by the first hand. In other MSS, we find some Lessons rubricated in the text, but many more indicated by later hands on the margins. Indeed in all respects the Vatican MS, bears a remarkable resemblance to the Syriac Evangelia in the British Museum, the Earl of Crawford's *Tetraevangelium*, and others of the same era.

1 In Mus. Brit. Add. 17,113, and in the Crawford Tetraevangelium, the Lesson begins at ver. 16, the former MS. having in the text Lesson of the Friday of the Passion at the sixth (sic) hour. Add. 12,137, Add. 14,462, and Add. 14,464, mark a paragraph at the end of ver. 19: the first of these three codices has at the top of the page Of the Friday of the Passion, the last, Of the sixth hour of the Friday of the Passion. In Widmanstadt the Lesson begins at ver. 21, with the title Of the third hour.

Examples of such differences in 'Use' might be multiplied from the Syriac MSS. which we have collated. They indicate the divers circumstances and conditions under which the copies were produced, and confirm the conclusion derived from other considerations, that our extant MSS. represent several lines of independent testimony. Thus they carry back the evidence for the Peshitto text to a more remote antiquity than the date of the oldest of them, as I pointed out in Paper No. VIII in the former volume of Studia Biblica.

NOTE.

Since writing this paper, I have seen a work which is scarce in England, M. l'Abbé Martin's Critique Textuelle (Leçons professées à l'École de Théologie en 1882-3), partie théorique. On pp. 590-614 he treats the subject of this essay on a different plan, and gives many interesting particulars. The learned writer's remarks about the Tables p. 595, and Nestorian MS. evidence p. 610, should however be compared with what I have stated on p. 254, and on pp. 252 n. 1, 262 n. 5.



ADDITIONAL NOTE.

THE arguments on pp. 265, 266 of the preceding essay are most temperately stated, and the inferences which they suggest lie near at hand when the problems of the text are approached from the side of the Peshitto. But they will perhaps be found to assume a different aspect when they are seen in connexion with a wider range of phenomena. It must not be forgotten that side by side with the Peshitto there are other versions—the Latin and the Egyptian—which compete with it in antiquity; and these too have to be taken into account, together with the texts represented by quotations in the Ante-Nicene Fathers. If it is argued that the Peshitto itself was transmitted, with especial care, and that it fell into a kind of Massoretic tradition like the Massoretic tradition of the Old Testament, still we should not be justified in supposing that this process was continued backwards in the same manner all the way to the autographs. MSS. and quotations together carry back our knowledge of the Peshitto, roughly speaking, to the beginning of the fourth century. But beyond that point more direct evidence fails us. And when we take in the indirect evidence furnished by the authorities above mentioned, we see that the Ante-Nicene period as a whole was one of rapid change and development—of change and development which become most rapid as we approach its beginning. How far the Peshitto participated in this process must be matter for enquiry; but in any case there is ample room for both the Syriac text and the Greek text out of which it sprang to have undergone considerable modifications before it acquired the shape with which we are familiar.

Again, though it must certainly be admitted that the Syriac Christians were strongly attached to their national version, and though we may well believe that they gave it a deliberate preference over other forms of text with which they were acquainted, it is another question what weight that preference will have for ourselves, and how far we can use it in our own selection of a line of text to follow. Before this question can be answered we must know more of the value of ancient criticism in general. And an inductive examination does not permit us to rate the importance of this too highly. It is thus that the ancients exercised a certain amount of criticism—more perhaps than they are sometimes credited with—but even at its best it is not of such a kind that we can accept their verdicts without revision.

[W. S.]

VII,

THE CODEX AMIATINUS AND ITS BIRTHPLACE.

[H. J. WHITE.]

I.

THE visitor in Florence who happens to be in the Mediceo-Laurentian Library when its greatest treasure, the celebrated Vulgate Codex Amiatinus, is out of its case, will see what is perhaps the finest book in the world. Wonderful as are the other treasures of this Library, the Orosius, the Sophocles, the Tacitus, the Virgil, the Pandects, the Codex Amiatinus surpasses them all, and, to use the words of Dr. Hort, impresses the beholder with a feeling not far removed from awe, as he contemplates this 'prodigy of a manuscript.' The book measures about 50×34 centim. (19 $\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{3}{2}$ in.) in length and breadth, and nearly 20% centim. (7 in.) in thickness without the binding. It contains the whole Bible according to the Vulgate version, together with the usual prefaces, &c. to each book, and a quaternion of very valuable introductory matter at the commencement; it numbers 1029 leaves of vellum, stout but smooth and white, written in two columns to a page, and forty-three or forty-four lines to a column. The text is in a regular and beautiful uncial hand, so carefully and clearly written that it has needed but few corrections; there is no punctuation, as the text is divided into lines of varying length, technically called cola and commata, or less correctly sticki, which represent an ancient system of punctuation perfectly intelligible to the trained eye. The first lines of each book are written in red, but there is no



274

illumination in the body of the manuscript, except in the page before the beginning of the New Testament, and in the first quaternion, the paintings in which we shall discuss below.

A manuscript of this size and beauty would naturally take a high rank amongst authorities for determining the text of the Vulgate version, and we are not surprised to learn that during the Sixtine revision it was brought to Rome for the purpose of collation, by the order of Sixtus V. Till lately, moreover, it was generally dated by scholars near the middle of the sixth century, and such an early date would of course render its text of great value; but two years ago a series of facts was brought to light which has conclusively fixed the MS. a century and a half later. The links in this chain it is the purpose of the following pages to describe, though nothing has been attempted in the solution of many questions which are still somewhat obscure.

II.

The Dedication Verses.

On the reverse of the first leaf of the Codex appear the following verses, in a hand slightly larger than the rest of the writing, and surrounded by a thin illuminated border:—

CENOBIUM AD EXIMII MERITO
VENERABILE SALVATORIS

QVEM CAPVT ECCLESIAE
DEDICAT ALTA FIDES
PETRVS LANGOBARDORUM
EXTREMIS DE FINIB. ABBAS
DEVOTI AFFECTUS
PIGNORA MITTO MEI
MEQUE MEOSQ. OPTANS
TANTI INTER GAVDIA PATRIS
IN CAELIS MEMOREM
SEMPER HABERE LOCUM.

The four words in italics, which record the name of the monastery to which the book was at one time dedicated, and the name of the donor, are not in the original hand. They are a substitute for other names which have been carefully erased, with the exception of the c in cenobium and the e in Petrus; the marks of the erasure are plainly visible and the handwriting is evidently later, while the violation of the laws of metre would itself betray the work of one who was using material not his own 1.

But what lurks under this erasure? The words at present record the gift of the book to the Convent of Monte Amiata by a certain Peter, abbat of a Lombard monastery, who lived at the end of the ninth and beginning of the tenth centuries; but he has made use of the dedication of a previous donor; have we any means of restoring the original inscription and discovering who that donor was?

Until lately scholars had accepted the emendation proposed by Bandini, who, in his catalogue of the MSS. of the Laurentian Library², has given a long and able description of the *Codex Amiatinus*. Tischendorf indeed, who in our own days published the text of the New Testament³, did little more in his prolegomena than abbreviate this description.

Now Bandini proposed to restore the first two lines in a way which seemed to carry probability, nay certainty, with it, viz.:—

CVLMEN AD EXIMII MERITO VENERABILE PETRI,

a restitution which not only makes the hexameter run smoothly, but also fits in excellently with the expression caput ecclesiae, and records the gift of the book to St. Peter's at Rome, as being the head of the Church. For the name of the donor in the fifth line, however, Bandini's suggested

¹ The MS. reads LANGOBARDORVM not LONGOBARDORVM as Bandini erroneously transcribed it, and Tischendorf, who copied from Bandini.

² Bibliotheca Leopoldina Laurentiana, Florentiae, 1791, vol. i. p. 701 ff.

Novum Testamentum ex Codice Amiatino, Lipsiae, 1850 and 1854.

276

explanation did not seem so conclusive; instead of *Petrus* Langobardorum, etc., he proposed to read

SERVANDVS LATII EXTREMIS DE FINIB. ABBAS.

This emendation indeed hardly satisfied himself, for he tells us that at the first glance (cap. vi. p. 706) the Codex appeared to him to have been written not by an Italian, but by an English or German abbat—a piece of acuteness which after-events have strangely verified. The name Servandus was suggested by an inscription in somewhat barbarous Greek, by the first hand, at the beginning of the book of Leviticus, informing us that a scribe of that name had written at any rate a portion of the Bible extending so far:—

OKYPIC CEPBANAOC AI MOIHCEN

As Mabillon in his Annales records a Servandus, abbat of a Benedictine monastery near Alatri, who visited St. Benedict in the year 541 at Monte Cassino, Bandini concluded that this was the scribe of the book and author of the dedication verses. Or the book might have been written by another Servandus, who lived later in the century, and was among the correspondents of Gregory the Great. A tradition preserved by Ughelli 2 ascribes the writing of the book to Gregory himself; and such a tradition might easily have arisen if it had been presented to him by Servandus (e.g.) upon his election to the Papal chair in 590.

The date of the manuscript then seemed fixed to the middle, or at the latest to the second half, of the sixth century; and even Tischendorf thought that the expression extremis de finibus abbas might be meant to describe the distance of Servandus' monastery from Rome, though it certainly seems an exaggerated way of describing a distance

¹ Annales O. S. B. tom. i. pp. 85, 86.

³ Italia Sacra, iii. p. 623; and for the connection between Servandus and Pope Gregory, see Gregory's Dialogues, lib. ii. c. xxxv.

which, as Dr. Ranke remarks, is not greater than that between Leipzig and Berlin¹.

As time went on, critics began to grow suspicious of such an early date; and as early as 1873, Dr. Karl Hamann² maintained that it was of the eighth, not the sixth century; he also doubted whether Servandus was really the scribe of the book, on the ground that had he been so he would hardly have put the Greek inscription in the strange place it occupies—the beginning of Leviticus; nor would he have been likely to style himself KYPIC (i.e. KYPIOC, Dominus).

Nothing more, however, was said in print on the question till 1882, when Lagarde wrote a letter to the Academy 3, stating that for some time he had felt almost certain—'for intrinsic reasons'—that the Codex Amiatinus should be dated in the ninth century; and that an examination of the manuscript which he had been permitted to make in Florence, proved the external evidence to be in thorough accord with his anticipations. He urged that if a MS. of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century were placed beside the Codex Amiatinus, the difference between a genuine and an artificial uncial hand, between old and more modern vellum, and between the truly antique size of a book and a size chosen to make the most of the skins at hand, would at once become apparent: he suggested that the Codex was written at Reichenau, on the Lake of Constance, by the same scribe who wrote the copy of Jerome's Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos (now at Carlsruhe), there being great similarity in the handwriting of the two MSS. In his own Mittheilungen 4,

¹ Theologische Literaturzeitung, 1887, p. 270.

² Dr. Hamann's criticism occurs in a review of Heyse and Tischendorf's edition of the Vulgate Old Testament with collation of the Codex Amiatinus (Leipzig, 1873); see Hilgenfeld's Zeitschrift. f. wissensch. Theologie, 1873, pp. 591-594.

³ Academy, Sept. 2, 1882.

⁴ Mittheilungen, von P. de Lagarde; Goettingen, 1884: see pp. 191-2: also a review of this by H. Roensch in Hilgenfeld's Zeitschrift, 1885, p. 252: and Samuel Berger in a review of Dr. Corssen's Epistula ad Galatas, Bulletin Critique, March, 1886.

278

published a little later, Lagarde still keeps to this, as it proves, too late date for the MS.; and urges the same reasons,—namely, the difference in the size of the parchment, ink, and form of the letters, from genuine sixth century MSS. In addition he remarks that the marginal notes, which are obviously by the first hand ¹, are written in minuscule character, and that some of the textual errors look as if they resulted from the careless copying of a minuscule exemplar.

III.

It was reserved however for the Commendatore G. B. de Rossi, the famous Italian epigraphist and historian of the Catacombs, to make the emendation in the fifth line of the dedication verses, the verification of which has removed the later date of the Codex Amiatinus from the realm of conjecture into that of fact. In the summer of 1886 he published an essay 2, printed in Rome at the Vatican Press, and extracted from the first volume of a description of the Palatine MSS. of the Vatican Library. In the ninth chapter of this work he drew attention to the very large traffic in manuscripts of the sacred Scriptures which was carried on in the seventh century between Rome and the various churches in northern Europe, especially that of England. As the Church spread in more distant lands, the new bishops and abbats were all anxious to obtain from Rome Bibles for their respective cathedrals and monasteries; and sometimes the demand proved greater than the supply. Thus we find Martin I. writing to one bishop, Codices iam exinaniti sunt a nostra bibliotheca, unde ei (the bearer of the letter) dare nullatenus habuimus; transcribere autem non potuit, quoniam festinanter de hac civitate egredi properavit 3.

Few, however, of the bishops or abbats have such a claim on the grateful remembrance of Englishmen as Benedict

¹ Dr. Corssen thinks they may be later (Academy, April 7, 1888).

² De Origine Historia Indicibus Scrinii et Bibliothecae Sedis Apostolicae Commentatio J. B. de R., Romae, 1886,

³ Mansi Conoil. x. p. 1183, quoted by De Rossi, p. lxxiii.

Biscop, the founder of the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow in Northumberland, and his disciple and successor Students of Bede had long read with admiration of the untiring and far-sighted energy with which Benedict, from his northern cloister, made no less than five journeys to Rome, partly for devotion, but also to enrich his monastery with the finest manuscripts and pictures he could obtain, and to civilise and educate his rough island followers by introducing to them the arts of France and Italy. Benedict was a traveller and a collector from his youth; after his first journey (probably about 653 A.D.) Bede 1 tells us that ad patriam mox reversus, studiosius ea quae vidit ecclesiasticae vitae instituta diligere venerari, et quibus potuit praedicare non desiit. His second journey was made in 658, after which he remained some time abroad, returning at length in 669. After two years of monastic life in England, he again in 671 started on his third journey, librosque omnis divinae eruditionis non paucos vel placito pretio emptos vel amicorum dono largitos retulit; and it was after this journey that he obtained from Ecgfrid the gift of land which enabled him to found the Wearmouth monastery of St. Peter. To make the buildings of sufficient beauty he journeyed again to France, and procured from thence builders and vitri factores to adorn the windows of the chapel and refectory with the hitherto unknown luxury of glass, while the fittings for the chapel, the sacred vessels and vestments were also obtained from abroad.

Finding, however, that even the resources of Gaul failed to satisfy all his requirements, the indefatigable abbat in 678 made a fourth journey to Rome, whence he brought back innumerabilem librorum omnis generis copiam, a large store of relics, and also obtained the Pope's permission for the Abbat John, archicantor of St. Peter's, to accompany him to England, and introduce into the Northumberland monastery the order of singing and performing Divine Service according to the Roman use.

¹ Bede, Vita quinque Abbatum; Migne, Patr. Lat. xciv. p. 714 foll.

A year later, Benedict founded the sister monastery of St. Paul at Jarrow, and appointed as its abbat the presbyter Ceolfrid, his faithful companion, who had accompanied him on his last journey to Rome to share his devotions and studies.

And in 684 Benedict started yet again on his fifth journey to Rome, and again returned innumeris sicut semper ecclesiasticorum donis commodorum locupletatus... magna quidem copia voluminum sacrorum sed non minori sicut et prius sanctarum imaginum munere ditatus.

But soon after, worn out, as we may well believe, not only by the asceticism of the monastic life, but also by his frequent and arduous journeys, Benedict grew ill and died; and in his last thoughts and arrangements, the library he had collected at such trouble and expense naturally occupied a prominent position: bibliothecam quam de Roma nobilissimam copiosissimamque advexerat ad instructionem ecclesiae necessariam, sollicite servari integram, nec per incuriam foedari aut passim dissipari praecepit. And so, after appointing Ceolfrid abbat over the two monasteries, the good man breathed his last.

Ceolfrid proved a worthy successor, and continued the work of extending the monastic buildings. During his rule of seven years over Jarrow, and twenty-eight over the combined monasteries, we read of the alters, the sacred vessels, and vestments he added to the property of the church; and especially how bibliothecam utriusque monasterii, quam Benedictus abbas magna coepit instantia, ipse non minori geminavit industria; ita ut tres pandectes novae translationis ad unum vetustae translationis quem de Roma attulerat, ipse super adiungeret; quorum unum senex Romam rediens secum inter alia pro munere sumpsit, duos utrique monasterio reliquit. The pandectes vetustae translationis he must have brought with him from Rome when accompanying Benedict on his fourth journey 2. After a long and faithful rule over the monasteries, Ceolfrid determined to visit for the last time

¹ Bede, Vita quinque Abbatum, lib. ii. p. 725 ff.

² In 678 probably, see above, p. 279, and also Bede, Eccl. Hist. iv. 18.

the Apostolic city, and for this purpose left England with a few followers in 716; he did not live, however, to complete his journey, getting no further than Langres, where he died on the 25th of September.

Some of his monks went on to Rome, while the rest returned at once to their monastery.

In his work De temporum ratione¹, c. 66, Bede furnishes us with some more interesting information about this journey. We read that Ceolfrid was seventy-four years old at the time of this last pilgrimage, and that inter alia donaria quae adferre disposuerat, misit ecclesiae sancti Petri pandectem a beato Hieronymo in Latinum ex Hebraeo vel Graeco fonte translatum. After his death at Langres, those of his followers who proceeded to Rome took with them the Pandect, we must suppose, and offered it to the chair of St. Peter.

We may now return to the Dedication verses in a position to understand De Rossi's brilliant emendation of the erased letters in the fifth line. He had, like Dr. Hamann before him, remarked that Servandus, were he the scribe or possessor of the whole book, would not be likely to sign his name only at the beginning of Leviticus; and Dr. Anziani, the librarian of the Laurentian Library, had remarked to him that the erasure was too long to be properly filled up by the words SERVANDVS LATII; the expression also EXTREMIS DE FINIB. ABBAS seemed less applicable to the dwellers in Latium than to such a people as the toto divisos orbe Britannos. Bearing this in mind, together with the incident related in Bede of the Pandect offered by Ceolfrid to the Church of Rome, De Rossi conjectured the substitution of CEOLFRIDVS BRITONVM for SERVANDVS LATII.

A fresh examination of the erasure in the Dedication verses in this new light confirmed the conjecture almost to certainty. The second letter in the fifth line, E, was, as we saw, not erased but was part of the original inscription, and

¹ Migne, Patr. Lat. xc. p. 571.

282

of course suited Ceolfridus Britonum quite as well as Servandus; in addition to this, the words Ceolfridus Britonum exactly fill up the space erased; the first letter has not been entirely destroyed, and shows strong indications of having once been a c instead of an s; the erasure of the fourth letter extends above the line, which looks as if L had once been there; that of the fifth extends below, which agrees well with an F. All these points together made the words CEOLFRIDVS BRITONVM an almost certain emendation of SERVANDVS LATII, and subsequent events have shown this discovery to be one of the most brilliant perhaps that have ever been made in the history of palaeography.

This much, then, might now be said to have been proved with regard to the Codex Amiatinus. It was in all probability the identical manuscript which had been in the possession of the Abbat Ceolfrid, at Wearmouth, in the beginning of the eighth century, and had been sent by him as a gift to the Pope. Whether it was written by him or at his order, or whether it was an older manuscript procured by him during his travels was not clear, for Bede's words simply state that Ceolfrid added to the monastic library three Pandects of the new translation, in addition to the one volume of the old translation brought from Rome. Still the discovery at any rate explained the late date which some critics had wished to give to the book, and rendered it possible, if not probable, that it was written in Ceolfrid's own days.

Meanwhile a parallel line of argument strongly supporting De Rossi's conjecture was developing from another quarter. The Bishop of Salisbury, whilst collating MSS. for his edition of the Vulgate, had been for some time struck by the resemblance in text between the eighth and ninth century British manuscripts and the *Codex Amiatinus*, a resemblance for which there seemed no means of accounting on the prevailing supposition of the latter having been written in Italy. This was notably the case with the St. John of the *Durham Gospels* (A. II. 16) of the seventh century, the exquisite *Stonyhurst St.*

John (sixth or seventh century) found in the coffin of St. Cuthbert, who died in 687, but most of all with the Lindisfarne Gospels (Brit. Mus. Nero D. IV.) of the beginning of the eighth century; in a less degree with the Rushworth Gospels, an Irish text of the beginning of the ninth century, now in the Bodleian Library, with the Gospels from St. Augustine's Canterbury (sixth or seventh), both at Oxford and at Cambridge, and the first hand of the Echternach Gospels (Paris, Lat. 9389), a MS. written in an Anglo-Saxon hand, and placed by M. Delisle in the eighth or ninth century. The Lindisfarne Gospels indeed present a text of that puzzling nature which falls short of being an actual transcript of the Amiatinus, and yet argues the very closest connection short of this; there are indeed differences between the two MSS., often in spelling, sometimes in reading; but in spite of this the general agreement between them is most noticeable, and not unfrequently a reading is shared by them against all other Vulgate MSS. hitherto examined. The explanation of this extraordinarily close affinity in text between the two MSS. is of course simple enough on the supposition that the Codex Amiatinus itself enjoyed for some years a place of honour in the library at Wearmouth or Jarrow.

IV.

The conjecture of De Rossi and the evidence in its favour borne by the texts of the MSS. were brought before English readers in a letter from the Bishop of Salisbury, published in the Academy of Feb. 12, 1887, and in the Guardian of Feb. 9; the correspondence was continued by other writers, amongst whom Prof. G. F. Browne proposed to read Anglorum instead of Britonum in the erased line of the Dedication verses; and M. Samuel Berger also suggested the same correction in a private letter to the Bishop. The last link in the chain, however, was supplied by Dr. Hort (Academy, Feb. 26), who contributed the one additional piece of evidence needed to complete the identification. Bede, it is

284

now generally recognized, drew many of his details respecting Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrid from a valuable little tract known as the *Anonymous Life of Ceolfrid*. This has not been printed on the continent, but was first published by J. Stevenson in 1841, and curiously enough it contains two passages which supply just the required information. The first describes Ceolfrid's provision for the furniture and enrichment of the two monasteries as follows:—

'Itaque monasteria quibus praeerat et extrinsecus abundanter opibus et non minus locupletavit internis. Nam et vasis quae ad ecclesiae vel altaris officium pertinent copiosissime ditavit et bibliothecam quam de Roma vel ipse vel Benedictus attulerat nobiliter ampliavit, ita ut inter alia tres Pandectes faceret describi; quorum duo per totidem sua monasteria posuit in ecclesiis, ut cunctis qui aliquod capitulum de utrolibet Testamento legere voluissent in promptu esset invenire quod cuperent, tertium autem Romam profecturus donum beato Petro apostolorum principi offerre decrevit.'

The second relates the journey of the monks to Rome after Ceolfrid's death :—

'Sepulto igitur patre quidam ex fratribus qui eum deduxerunt patriam rediere, narraturi in monasterio ipsius ubi et quando transiret e corpore; quidam vero dispositum Romam iter peregere, delaturi munera quae miserat. In quibus videlicet muneribus erat Pandectes, ut diximus, interpretatione beati Hieronymi presbyteri ex Hebraeo et Graeco fonte transfusus, habens in capite scriptos huiusmodi versus:

Corpus ad eximii merito venerabile Petri Dedicat ecclesiae quem caput alta fides Ceolfridus, Anglorum extimis de finibus abbas, Devoti affectus pignora mitto mei, Meque meosque optans tanti inter gaudia patris In caelis memorem semper habere locum.'

¹ Stevenson published it for the English Historical Society in the Appendix to Bede's historical works from a Harleian MS. (3020) of the 9th or 10th century; it was reprinted 'with the correction of a few errors' by Giles, in 1843, in vol. vi. of his Bede (416 ff.): see Dr. Hort in the Academy; the passages here cited occur in Giles, p. 423 and 430, Stevenson, p. 325 and 332.

These verses we at once see are those of the Codex Amiatinus; for the transposition in the second line, and extimis for extremis in the third, are both probably slips made by the author of the Anonymous Life. As regards the first erased word, a fresh examination of the Codex shows the original word to be corpus, not culmen, as Bandini supposed; for the second letter, which is only half erased, appears to have been an o rather than an u^1 ; in the third line De Rossi's 'admirable conjecture' stares us in the face, and there is only the slight change, before suggested by Prof. Browne and M. Berger, of Anglorum for Britonum (Ceolfridus Anglorum, not Ceolfridus Britonum), an emendation again which a fresh examination of the erasure renders more probable. And thus is proved without the shadow of a doubt the identity of the Codex Amiatinus with the Pandect, which, amongst others, Ceolfrid ordered to be written in England at the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century, and sent as a present to Pope Gregory II.

For the words of the anonymous life, ita ut tres pandectes faceret describi, show further that this Pandect was not an old manuscript obtained by Ceolfrid during his travels, but a new one written at his order, and thus the date of the writing is fixed a full century and a half later than Bandini and Tischendorf imagined, and the place is again fixed, as definitely, to one of the two northern monasteries. It is not of course so certain that the hand which wrote it was English; as a Roman musician was brought over to teach the English monks to sing, so an Italian scribe may well have come to instruct them in writing, and the Amiatine Bible may be the work of a foreigner though written in England. Dr. Hort² inclines to this opinion, and Dr. Hamann³ urges on the ground of orthography, that

¹ The left limb of an uncial s has always a slight horizontal stroke to the left finishing it off; but there is no sign of such a stroke having been erased here, as the student may observe in the facsimile of the page given in the Palaeographical Society's Second Series (Plate 65).

² Academy, Feb. 26, 1887.

Academy, May 7.

either the scribe himself was an Italian, or that at any rate he copied from an Italian exemplar. To Italy, he says, and to no other country, are we directed by such orthographical forms as senes for senex, senia for xenia, and optimantium, gigans, ancxius, unexit, sussaltastis, ammirata, quemammodum, cluserunt, hostia, tophadius, agusto, ascultabant, clodum, adtractaverit, redemet, histriatarum, espendebat, scandescet, Spaniae, totum belli impetu, in tantum arrogantiae tumore, incidemus in manu Dei et non in manus hominum, etc.

But the handwriting of this, almost the largest Biblical MS. in existence, shows, strange to say, a remarkable similarity in form to another which may claim to be nearly the smallest—the Stonyhurst St. John. The resemblance in text between the two books has been noted above (p. 282). Dr. Hort in calling attention to this, suggested that as the Codex Amiatinus was apparently written by an Italian scribe in Northumbria, the Stonyhurst St. John might have had a similar origin; for more than one scribe may have been brought from Rome, or the Northern monks may themselves have proved apt pupils.

If the scribe came back with Benedict in his *fourth* journey in 678, there would be ample time for him, or a pupil, to write the book and to send it as a present to Cuthbert in his retirement at Farne, so that we need not reject the legend (which goes back to the thirteenth century), that it was found in his coffin, and was therefore in his possession before 687; nor, on the other hand, need we suppose the book to have been written before the writing-school at Wearmouth was established².

It remains to mention some other specimens of writing

Academy, Feb. 26, 1887. The Palaeographical Society's editors indeed (Series I. pl. 17) suppose it to have been written on the continent, but there seem to be more distinct British characteristics in the hand-writing than in that of the Codex Amiatimus; the F especially—with its upper horizontal bar curved, and the lower straight—seems Anglo-British. See the Bishop of Salisbury in the Academy, Feb. 26.

² Dr. Sanday in the Academy, Feb. 19, 1887.

which probably came from the same place and at the same date as the Codex Amiatinus and the Stonyhurst St. John. Two fragments of manuscripts are bound up at the end of the famous Utrecht Psalter 1, containing prefatory matter to the Gospels, the capitula to St. Matthew and chapters i. 1-iii. 4 of that Gospel; also St. John ii. 1-21. greater part of these fragments is written in a hand very strongly resembling the Amiatinus, though Mr. Thompson 2 does not think it to be actually the same; the student, however, will be especially struck with the peculiar form of the small capital L which stands for St. Luke in the Ammonian Sections in both manuscripts, and is, I believe, extremely The capitula after the first three letters are in a hand which, though larger, seems to be identical with that of the Stonyhurst St. John. And lastly, there is a fragment of St. Luke bound up in one of the Durham MSS., which not only presents the text of Amiatinus almost word for word, but also strongly resembles it in handwriting, and would seem to be a sister MS. There was then a large and flourishing school of calligraphy at Wearmouth or Jarrow in the seventh and eighth centuries, of which till lately we had no knowledge at all. It produced manuscripts such as the Codex Amiatinus, which have never been equalled for grandeur, and such as the Stonyhurst St. John, which have never been equalled for delicacy and grace; and we have to thank the Commendatore De Rossi for both fixing a date and a place to one of the most important Vulgate MSS., and for giving to England the credit of a writing school which more than rivals that of Tours.

V.

We have mentioned above that the first quaternion of the Codex Amiatinus contains some extremely interesting prefatory matter; this consists of three arrangements of the

¹ Dr. Sanday in the Academy, March 5.

² Academy, March 12, 1887.

books of the Old and New Testament with separate prolegomena, a two-page representation of the Tabernacle, and another of Ezra working in his study. The order of the leaves has been twice disturbed; for that given by Bandini in his description is evidently not the order in which they originally stood, while since Bandini's time, probably when the book was last bound, the order has been again changed. At present it is as follows 1:—

Fol. 1 is blank; 1 b has the Dedication verses; 2 is blank; 2 b and 3 contain a large bird's-eye view of the Tabernacle (this is usually spoken of as 'Solomon's Temple'), drawn with great intricacy and painted with deep rich colours; 3b is blank; 4 contains the prologue to the contents of the MS., and 4b contains a list of these contents; this page is stained on both sides with a fine purple, and the writing, in yellow pigment, is arranged in tables with a double arch of twisted rope-pattern; 5 has an interesting picture of Ezra seated at work on a stool in front of an open bookcase; 5 b is blank; 6 contains the Hieronymian division of the Sacred books; at the head of the page is represented the Golden Lamb, from which hang seven tabellae as Bandini calls them, three of them containing the Old and four the New Testament; 6 b is blank; 7 has the Hilarian and Epiphanian division of Scripture, underneath the head of a monk, supposed by Bandini to be meant for a portrait of Pope Gregory; 7 b is of vellum stained bright yellow; the greater part of the page is occupied by a large circle filled in with purple, and with a yellow circumference; inside this again are five other circles disposed in the form of a cross, with intertwined circumference of green, and around these seven other still smaller circles; the colours of this page are not used in the other three pictures; 8 contains the Augustinian division of Scripture; here we have again a picture intersected by a circle; a dove has its wings outspread, and is surrounded by flames; two fillets are suspended from its beak, and from

¹ Prof. G. F. Browne, Guardian, Apr. 27, and Academy, Apr. 30, 1887.

these hang the six divisions of the sacred books, a cross being placed at the beginning and end of each division; finally, 8b is blank, and looks like an outside sheet.

Such is the arrangement of the quaternion at the present time; in Bandini's time it was so far different that the second leaf of 'Solomon's Temple' stood seventh, the rest of the leaves standing as now.

We must, however, before discussing the original order of the leaves consider an important question, to which attention was drawn in 1883 by Dr. P. Corssen of Jever¹, the relation of the contents of this quaternion to the earlier Bibles described by Cassiodorus in his De Institutione Divinarum Litterarum. In that treatise Cassiodorus describes at length his nine MSS., containing the books of the Old and New Testaments, with commentaries on these books by Jerome and other fathers. In Chapter XII he describes one volume which contained the sacred books according to Jerome's division; in the thirteenth chapter the Augustinian division; and in the fourteenth that of the Antiqua Translatio. latter was written inter alias (divisiones) in a Codex Grandior, a fine volume containing 95 quaternions or 760 leaves. The Old Testament was a Latin translation from the LXX, in 44 books, the text being corrected throughout in accordance with St. Jerome's version.

The three lists in the Amiatine *Prolegomena* bear a striking resemblance to those of the *Codex Grandior*, as we shall see by printing at length the contents of the first quaternion of the Codex, and placing in a parallel column those passages from Cassiodorus which cover the same ground.

The first sheet, after the Dedication verses, which contains writing, is fol. 4 b; this has the Prologue to the contents of the MS. It is as follows:—

'Si diuino ut dignum est amore flammati ad ueram cupimus sapientiam peruenire et in hac uita fragili aeterni saeculi deside-

Die Bibeln des Cassiodorius und der Codex Amiatinus, in the Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie, Leipzig, 1883.

ramus imaginem contueri Patrem luminum deprecemur ut nobis cor mundum tribuat actionem bonae uoluntatis inpertiat 1 perseuerantiam sua uirtute concedat, ut Scripturarum diuinarum palatia, ipsius misericordia largiente possimus fiducialiter introire, ne nobis dicatur Quare tu enarras iustitias meas et adsumis testamentum meum per os tuum sed inuitati illud potius audiamus Uenite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis et ego uos reficiam. Magnum munus inaestimabile beneficium, audire hominem secreta dei et quemadmodum ad ipsum ueniatur institui. itaque fratres ad animarum fontem uiuum salutaria remedia ius-Quisquis enim in terris Scripturis talibus occupatur paene caelestis iam regni suauitate perfruitur. Nec nos moueat quod pater Augustinus in septuaginta unum libros testamentum uetus nouumque diuisit; doctissimus autem Hieronymus idem uetus nouumque testamentum XLVIIII sectionibus comprehendit. In hoc autem corpore utrumque testamentum septuagenario numero probatur impletum, in illa palmarum quantitate forsitan praesagatus (sic) quas in mansione Helim inuenit populus Hebraeorum. Nam licet haec calculo disparia uideantur, doctrina tamen patrum ad instructionem caelestis ecclesiae concorditer universa perducunt. Amen.'

- 4 b contains the Amiatine list arranged in two columns with the hexameter lines at the bottom of the page as follows:—
- 'In hoc codice continentur ueteris et noui testamenti Libri N LXXI.
- 'Genesis, Exodus, Leuiticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium, Iosue, Iudicum, Ruth, Samuhel, Malachias ², Paralypomenon, Lib. Psalmorum, Prouerbia, Ecclesiastes, Cantica Canticorum, Lib. Sapientiae, Ecclesiasticum, Esaias, Hieremias ³, Hiezechiel, Danihel, Osee, Iohel, Amos, Abdias, Ionas, Michas, Naum, Habacuc, Soffonias, Aggeus, Zaccharias, Malachias, Iob, Thobias, Iudith, Hester, Ezras ⁴, Machabeorum lib. duo.

Euangelium secundum Mattheum, secundum Marcum, secundum

¹ inpertiat, Cod.; impertiat, Bandini: see Corssen, p. 625.

² An obvious mistake for *Malachim*, i.e. *Regum*. *Malachim* is frequently found in Latin lists, cf. Isidore of Seville, Johannes Sarisburiensis, Hugo de S. Caro, in Hody, *De bibl. text.* etc. pp. 653, 656.

³ Containing also Lamentations and the prayer of Jeremiah; cf. Bandini, p. 720.

⁴ Including Nehemiah; Bandini, p. 721.

Lucam, secundum Iohannem, Actus Apostolorum, Epistulae Paulli Apost., ad Romanos I, ad Corintheos II, ad Galatas I, ad Ephesios I, ad Philippenses I, ad Colosenses I, ad Thessalon. II, ad Timotheum II, ad Titum I, ad Philimon I, ad Hebreos I, Epist. Iacobi I, Petri I¹, Iohannis III, Iudae I, Apocalypsis Iohan. Amen.

Hieronyme interpres uariis doctissime linguis Te bethlem celebrat te totus personat orbis Te quoque nostra tuis promet bibliotheca libris Qua noua cum priscis condis donaria gazis.'

Fol. 5 contains the Ezra picture, with the couplet over his head, possibly added later:

'Codicibus sacris hostili clade perustis Ezra deo feruens hoc reparauit opus.'

In the open book-case by which he is sitting, are arranged various volumes of Scripture, entitled ² OCT. LIB.—REG. LIB.—HEST. LIB.—PSAL. LIB.—SAL. . . . —PROP. . . . —EVANGEL. IIII.—EPIST. AP. XXI.—ACT. AP. APOCA. Here the coincidences with Cassiodorus begin, for these titles, as Dr. Corssen notes, correspond with only one exception to the nine MSS. described by Cassiodorus in the earlier chapters of the *Institutio*; these were

'c. i. Primus scripturarum diuinarum codex est Octateuchus.
c. ii. In secundo Regum codice. c. iii. Ex omni igitur Prophetarum codice tertio. c. iv. Sequitur Psalterium codex quartus.
c. v. Quintus codex est Salomonis. c. vi. Sequitur Hagiographorum codex sextus. c. vii. Septimus igitur codex... quattuor Euangelistarum superna luce resplendet. c. viii. Octauus codex Canonicas Epistolas continet Apostolorum. c. ix. Nonus igitur codex Actus Apostolorum et Apocalypsin noscitur continere.'

Fol. 6 contains, in tables depending from the Lamb, the Hieronymian division of the sacred books; and the likeness between this and the Hieronymian division of the *Institutio* c. xii, will be seen by printing them side by side. It is indeed far closer than Corssen imagined, for he had only

Only one Epistle of Peter is noticed in this list; the Codex itself of course contains the second as well.

² Academy, Apr. 7, 1888.



the printed text of Cassiodorus to go by, which is known to be in a wretched state. Dr. Westcott collated the British Museum MSS. of the Institutio for c. xiv. in his History of the Canon, ed. 5, p. 573; and a comparison of the text thus amended with the Amiatine Epiphanian and Hilarian list (see next page) showed the two to be so near to each other that I have thought it worth while to collate these MSS. for the other lists also. They are Reg. 13 A. xxi. 7 (a); Cotton Vesp. (not Claud, as Westcott cites) B. 13. 8 (β) ; Reg. 10 B. xv. 2 (γ); Reg. 5 B. viii. 6 (δ).

I have formed the text throughout from a, which seems the closest to the Amiatine text; giving the variants of the other MSS. and of the printed texts, except in cases of mere orthography, below.

CASS. DE INST. DIV. LITT. c. xii.

292

Auctoritas diuina secundum sanctum Iheronimum in testamentis 1 duobus ita diuiditur id est in uetus et nouum. In lege id est in 3 Genesim, Exodum, Leuiticum, Numerorum, Deutronomium. In prophetis 4 Iesu Naue, Iudicum, Ruth, Samuel, Ysayas, Iheremias, Ezechiel⁵, libri duodecim prophetarum. In agyographis 6 Iob, Dauid, Salomon, Prouerbia, Ecclesiastes 7, Canticum Canticorum, Uerba dierum, id est Paralipomenon, Ezras, Hester. In Euangeliis 8. Matheus, Marcus, Lucas, Iohannes 9. Epistole Apostolorum, Petri due, Pauli quatuordecim, Iohannis tres, Iacobi una, Iude

AMIATINUS, p. 6.

Auctoritas diuina continetur in testamenta duo id est in uetus et in nouum.

In lege: Genesis, Exodum, Leuiticum, Numerorum, Deuteronomium.

In prophetis: Iesu Naue, Iudicum et Ruth, Samuhel, Malachian, Esaias, Hieremias, Hiezecihel, Liber duodecim prophetarum. In agiographis: Iob. Dauid, Salom., Prouerbia, Ecclesiastes, Cantica Canticorum, Danihel, Uerba dierum id est Paralip., Esras, Hester. Euangeliis: Matheus, Marcus, Lucas, Iohannes. Epist. Apost.: Pauli Apostoli xiiii, Petri Apost. ii, Iohann. Apost. iii, Iacobi Ap.

¹ testamenta duo edd. ³ legem βγδ edd. 3 om. in βγδ edd. phetas $\beta\gamma\delta$ edd.; + qui sunt edd. 5 + Daniel edd. + qui sunt edd.

^{*} Euangelistas + qui sunt odd.

⁶ Hagiographos ⁷ Ecclesiasticum $\beta\gamma\delta$, Ecclesiasticus edd.

⁺ post hos sequentur edd.

una. In Actibus Apostolorum ¹. In Apocalipsi Johannis ². . . .

Huic (i.e. to the Old Testament, which Jerome divided into twenty-two books, the number of the letters of the Hebrew Alphabet) etiam adiecti sunt Noui Testamenti libri uiginti septem, qui colliguntur simul quadraginta nouem. Quo s numero adde omnipotentem et indiuisibilem Trinitatem, per quam hec facta et propter quam ista praedicta sunt, et quincquagenarius numerus indubitanter efficitur, quia ad instar iubilei anni magna pietate beneficii debita relaxat et pure penitentium peccata dissoluit.

i, Iudae Ap. i. Act Apost.: Actus Apostolorum Liber unus. Apocalypsi: Apocalypsin Liber unus.

Sic fiunt ueteris nouique testamenti secundum Hieronymum libri quadraginta nouem quibus adde dominum Christum de quo et per quem ista conscripta sunt fit quinquagenarius numerus qui ad instar iobelei anni debita remittit et paenitentium peccata dissoluit.

Fol. 7 contains the Hilarian and Epiphanian divisions, written under the human or quasi-human head; here again we may compare Cassiodorus:—

Cassiodorus' antiqua translatio, c. xiv.

Scriptura sancta secundum antiquam translationem in testamenta duo ita dividitur id est in uetus et in ⁶ nouum. In Genesim, Exodum, Leuiticum, Numerorum, Deutronomium, Iesu Naue, Iudicum, Ruth, Regum libri ⁶ quatuor, Paralipomenon ⁷ duo, Psalterii ⁸, Salomonis libri quincque id est Prouerbia,

Amiatinus, p. 7.

Scriptura sancta diuiditur in testamenta duo id est in uetus et in nouum. Genesi, Exodum, Leuiticum, Numerorum, l'euteronomium, Iesu Naue, Iudicum, Ruth, Regum libri iii, Paralipomenon libri ii, Psalmorum lib. v, Salom. lib. v id est Prouerbia, Sapientia, Ecclesiasticum, Ecclesiastes, Cantica Canticorum, Pro-

1 Actuum Apostolorum edd.; + Lucae liber unus $\gamma\delta$ edd.; + Lucae unus liber β .
2 In Apocalypsin Johannis liber unus $\beta\gamma\delta$; et Apocalypsis Joannis liber unus edd.
3 cui edd.
4 qui edd.
5 om. in edd.
6 libros edd. 6 libros edd. 6 libros edd. 6 libros edd. 7 libros duos edd. 9 + unus $\theta\gamma\delta$; + librum unum edd.

Sapientie, Ecclesiasticum, Ecclesiastes, Canticum canticorum. Prophete id est Ysayas, Iheremias, Ezechiel, Daniel, Osee, Amos, Micheas, Iohel, Abdias, Ionas, Naum, Abacuc, Sophonias, Aggeus, Zacharias, Malachim qui et angelus, Iob, Tobi, Hester, Iudith, Ezre duo, Macabeorum duo.

294

Euuangelia quatuor id est Mathei 1, Marci, Luce, Io-Actus apostolorum; hannis, epistole Petri ad Gentes ; Iacobi 3, Iohannis ad Parthos, epistole Pauli ad Romanos una, ad Chorinthios due, ad Galathas una, ad Philipenses una, ad Ephesios una 4, ad Colosenses una, ad Hebreos una, ad Thesalonicenses due, ad Timotheum due, ad Titum una⁵, ad Philemonem una, Apocalipsin Iohannis . . . Translatio ueteris Testamenti in libris quadraginta quatuor continetur. Cui subiuncti 6 sunt noui Testamenti libri uiginti sex, fiuntque simul libri septuaginta; in illo palmarum numero fortasse presagati quas in mansione Helim inuenit populus Hebreorum . . . nos omnia tria genera diuisionum iudicauimus affigenda ut inspecta diligenter atque tractata, non inpugnare sed inuicem se potius exponere uideantur. Unde licet phetae id est Esaias, Hieremias, Ezecihel, Danihel, Osee, Amos, Micheas, Iohel, Abdias, Ionas, Naum, Ambacum, Sofonias, Aggeus, Zacharias, Malachim qui et Angelus, Iob, Tobis, Hester, Iudith, Esdrae libri duo, Machabeorum libri duo. Euangelia iiii id est Matheus, Marcus, Lucas, Iohannes, Actus Apostolorum, Epist. Petri ad Gentes, Iacobi, Iohannis ad Parthos, Epist. Pauli apost. id est ad Rom. i, ad Corint. ii, ad Galatas i, ad Philip, i, ad Colos, i, ad Ephesios i, ad Thessalonicenses ii, ad Timotheum ii, ad Titum i, ad Philemonem i, Apocalypsim Iohannis euangelistae.

Sic fiunt ueteris nouique Testamenti sicut diuidit sanctus Hilarus (Hilarius m. p.) Romanae urbis antistes et Epiphanius Cyprius, quem latino fecimus sermoni transferri Libri lxx in illo palmarum numerum fortasse praesagati quas in mansione Helim inuenit populus Hebreorum.

¹ Euangelium quatuor id est matheus $\beta\gamma\delta$; Post hace sequentur euangelistae quatuor i. e. m. edd.; deinde marcus lucas iohannes $\beta\gamma\delta$ edd. ² + iudae add. ³ + ad duodecim tribus edd. ⁴ ad Ephesios duae δ ; om. edd. ⁵ tr. ad Tit. una ad Tim. due β . ⁶ subjecti $\beta\gamma\delta$.

multi patres, id est Sanctus Hylarius Pictauensis urbis antistes, et Rufinus presbiter Aquileiensis, et Epiphanius episcopus Cipri, et sinodus Nicena uel [et edd.] Calcedonensis non contraria dixerunt sed diuersa; omnes tamen per diuisiones suas libros diuinos sacramentis competentibus aptauerunt.

Cf. c. v. Epiphanius antistes Cyprius totum librum graeco sermone uno volumine sub breuitate complexus est. Hunc nos ut alios in Latinam linguam per amicum nostrum uirum disertissimum Epiphanium fecimus, Domino iuuante, transferri.

Fol. 7 b contains the Pentateuch circles described above (p. 16). In these circles is disposed the following writing:—

1st circle. Manifestissima est Genesis in qua de creatura mundi, de exordio humani generis, et gente usque ad Aegyptum scribitur Hebr.

and circle. Patet Exodus cum decem plagis, decalogo, cum mysticis Scripturis, diuinisque praeceptis.

3rd circle. In promptu est Leuiticus Lib. in quo singula sacrificia et uestes Aaron et totus ordo Leuiticus spirant caelestia sacram.

4th circle. Numeri uero nonne totius arithmeticae et mensura terrae, et xl duarum per heremum mansion. mysteria continent.

5th circle. Deuteronomium quoque secunda Lex et euangelicae legis praefiguratio, nonne sic ea habet quae propria sunt ut tamen noua sint omnia de ueteribus.

Fol. 8 contains the Augustinian division of Holy Scripture (under the Dove); here again we may compare with Cassiodorus:



Cass. c. xiii.

296

Scriptura diuina secundum beatum Augustinum in Testamenta duo ita diuiditur, id est in uetus et in nouum duo id est Moysy libri quincque, Iesu Naue liber unus, Iudicum liber unus, Ruth liber unus, Regum libri quatuor, Paralipomenon libri duo, Job liber unus, Tobi liber unus, Hester liber unus, Iudith liber unus, Ezre libri duo duo, Machabeorum libri duo. In

Prophetis libri uigintiduo, Dauid

Psalterium ⁸ liber unus, Salomon

libri tres , Iesu filii Sirach libri duo 10, Prophete maiores quatuor,

idestYsayas, Iheremias, Daniel¹¹, Ezechiel; et minores duodecim,

id est Osee, Iohel, Amos, Ab-

dias, Ionas, Micheas, Naum, Abacuc, Sophonias, Zacharias,

Aggeus, Malachim.

In epistolis Apostolorum 12 id est Pauli apostoli ad Romanos una, ad Corinthios due, ad Galathas una, ad Ephesios una, ad Philipenses una, ad Thessalonicenses due, ad Colosenses una, ad Titum una, ad Philemonem una, ad Hebreos una, Petri due, Ioannis tres, Iude una, Ia-

cobi una. In Euangeliis qua-

tuor, id est secundum Matheum,

AMIATINUS, p. 8.

Scriptura sancta diuiditur in uetus in nouum. In Historia libri N. xxii id est Mosi lib. v, Ihesu Naue lib. i, Iudic. lib. i, Ruth lib. i, Reg. lib. iiii, Paral. lib. ii, Iob lib. i, Tobi lib. i, Hester lib. i, Iudith lib. i, Esdrae lib. ii, Machabeor. lib. ii.

In prophetiam libri N. xxii, id est Dauid Psalm. lib. i, Sal. lib. iii, Iesu filii Sirach lib. ii, Prophetarum id est Osee, Iohel, Amos, Abdiae, Ionae, Micheae, Naum, Habacuc, Sofon., Zach., Agg., Mal., Esaiae, Hier., Dan. et Hez. lib. N. xvi.

In enangelia quattuor secundum Mattheum, secundum Marcum, secundum Lucam, secundum Iohannem. In Epistolas Apostolorum xxi, id est Pauli Apost. ad Rom. i, ad Cor. ii, ad Gal. i, ad Efes. i, ad Phil. i, ad Thessal. ii, ad Col. i, ad Tim. ii, ad Tit. i, ad Fil. i, ad Heb. i, Petri duae, Ioh. iii, Iudae i, Iac. i. In Actus Apostolorum lib.i. In Apocalypsin Iohan. lib. i.

¹ Testamentum β. ² in uetus et nouum edd. ² + sunt edd. ¹ Testamentum β. ° Esther edd. ° Esdre βγδ; Esdrae edd. ¹ liber unus α'βγλ. ¹ psalmorum edd. ¹ quatuor edd. ¹ liber unus edd. ¹ escelaid daniel edd. ¹² + uiginti una edd.

secundum Marcum, secundum Lucam, secundum Iohannem. In Actibus Apostolorum liber unus. In Apocalipsin¹ liber unus. Beatus igitur Augustinus secundum praefatos nouem codices, quos sancta meditatur Ecclesia, secundo libro de doctrina Christiana, Scripturas diuinas septuaginta unius librorum calculo comprehendit: quibus cum sancte Trinitatis addideris unitatem fit totius libre² competens et gloriosa perfectio.

Sic fiunt ueteris nouique Testamenti sicut pater Augustinus in Libris de doctrina christiana complexus est simul libri N. lxxi quibus adde unitatem diuinam per quam ista completa sunt fit totius Librae competens et gloriosa perfectio; ipsa est enim rerum conditrix et uitalis omnium plenitudo uirtutum.

At the top of the page:-

Eloquium domini quaecumque uolumina pandunt

Spiritus hoc sancto fudit ab ore deus.

The reader will not fail to notice the striking similarity between the lists of Cassiodorus and those of the Amiatinus. In the Hieronymian division the differences are only of the smallest nature; Cassiodorus has Iudicum Ruth instead of Iudicum et Ruth, omits Malachian and Danihel, and in the New Testament places St. Peter's Epistles after, instead of before, St. Paul's; he obtains the required total of forty-nine then by counting Iudicum and Ruth as two books, while Amiatinus takes them as one; his real total however is forty-eight. Amiatinus, by the addition of Danihel and Malachian, obtains the full total of forty-nine. In both cases Salom. (whether Salomon or Salomonis) appears to be an introductory title, covering Prov. Eccl. Cant.

In the Augustinian division, which Cassiodorus tells us he took from the *De doctrina Christiana* ii. 13, he places the four greater prophets before, instead of after, the lesser (here the Amiatinus agrees with the order of the *De doctrina*); and in the New Testament he has the Evangelists after the Epistles.

In the third division, the Hilarian and Epiphanian of the Amiatinus, the antiqua uersio of Cassiodorus, the differ-

298

ences are more noticeable. Cassiodorus counts one, not five, books of the Psalms; and in the New Testament places Ephesians before Colossians, and inserts the Epistle to the Hebrews, which the Codex omits. Both the lists, Dr. Corssen notes, have Iohannis ad Parthos, without any intimation of the number of St. John's Epistles; and as in this list the numbers are usually added, where more than one Epistle is reckoned, it would seem probable that this canon included only one Epistle of St. John, especially as the expression Epistula ad Parthos is frequently used for the first Epistle, but does not seem known as a title for all three. Both lists emphasise the number seventy as the sum of the books of the Old and New Testaments, but we must add them up on different principles in each case, to obtain the required Cassiodorus gives us forty-four books in the Old total. Testament, counting the Psalms as one book; the remaining twenty-six in the New Testament being obtainable only by counting three epistles of St. John. Amiatinus, on the other hand, counts five books of the Psalms, making forty-eight books in the Old Testament; to bring the total down to seventy then we must reduce four books in the New; this can only be done by counting one Epistle of St. John, and one of St. Peter (Epist. Petri ad Gentes having no number added), which with the omission of the Hebrews enables us to obtain the required number. Cassiodorus indeed was aware of the five-fold division of the Psalter, as he states it was known to Jerome, though Epiphanius preferred to speak of the book of the Psalms as one 1.

Even more marked are the variations in the explanatory matter. The Amiatinus refers the list to the combined authority of Hilary and Epiphanius; Cassiodorus does not state his

¹ Cass. in Psalterium c. xii. Dr. Corssen notes that the reference is incorrect, for Jerome, Praef. in Libr. Psalm. ad Sophronium, rejects the five-fold division on the authority of the Hebrew, and of the Apostles, who in the New Testament speak of it as one book; similarly Hilary, Prol. in Libr. Psalm., mentions the five-fold division only to reject it: Nos secundum apostolicam auctoritatem 'Librum Psalmorum' et nuncupamus et scribimus.

source, and introduces the two fathers in a somewhat different connection, hinting that each had his own method of dividing the sacred books, though these were non contraria sed diversa. The Amiatine citation of Hilary and Epiphanius again does not agree with its omission of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which Hilary held to be of Pauline authorship, nor would its Psalmorum lib. v., commend itself to his views as to the Psalter 1; while Epiphanius adhered to the Canon of Athanasius, and in the order of books in the New Testament agreed with Jerome's list ad Paulinum 2.

What can be then the relation of these lists to each other? Their agreement shows it to be a close one, their variations would seem to prevent it being that of direct copying. But we have at any rate shown that Cassiodorus possessed a Codex Grandior, which must certainly have been a Latin Bible, for the whole context of c. xiv. of the Institutio³ shows this, and distinguishes it from the Graecus Pandectes mentioned later; this Latin Codex Grandior possessed three lists of the sacred books, and the Codex Amiatinus presents also three lists, almost, if not precisely, similar.

We have, however, to notice yet another mark of affinity between the two books. Folios 2 b and 3 of the Amiatinus contain a carefully-drawn view of the Tabernacle; Cassiodorus in the *Institutio*, c. v., mentions a certain blind man named Eusebius, who, as a compensation for his loss of sight, was gifted with a wonderfully retentive memory; this Eusebius commonuit etiam tabernaculum templumque Domini ad instar caeli fuisse formatum quae depicta subtiliter lineamentis propriis in 'Pandecte Latino corporis grandioris' competenter aptaui; so that Cassiodorus' Codex Grandior also contained a page with the Tabernacle, for it would seem to be almost certain that the Codex thus mentioned is identical with that in

¹ See note on last page.

² Epiph. adv. Haeres. iii. tom. 1, haer. 76, conf. 5; Jerome, Ep. liii; cf. Westcott, Canon, pp. 554, 567 ff.

³ Dr. Hort in Academy, Feb. 26, 1887.

The man another this between this look and the The same that is supplied in the Bottle. The Hort's quotes Two means in the manife views in the men on the STATE OF IT WELL COMMON MINES IN CHINE THE is an entropy of the property of the property of the second again. sandoloma de la come esta en la la la come de la come d which is I could be the International commenced. the in the second and which the tento Same of in mittern Cannone or report to the total In I it is posity remarks that this is the laternage of a max with had seen with his own eves the theatiest recessarisms of the Talesmanie and the Temple which Cassindress inserted in his Panders; and there is no evidence that Bede was ever in Italy, or indeed further worth than York. The ornelasion would therefore seem to follow that the Colez Grze for of Cassiodorus must have been brought to England and to the library of Wearmouth or of Jarrow, and there possibly have been placed on the same shelf with the Codex Amialians.

A still further supposition seemed at one time possible both to Dr. Hort and Dr. Corssen³; might not the first quaternion of the Amialinus be not a transcript but actually a part of Cassiodorus' Codex Grandior? There is much which strikes one at first sight in favour of such a view; the parchment is not quite so tall as that of the other gatherings, and certainly seems somewhat darker and thicker; the gathering is not signed, and the second quaternion beginning the Bible is marked 1, and the writing of the lists and prefatory matter is in a different hand from that of the body of the book. Further, there is only one other page in the book which contains pictorial representation; this is fol. 796 b, the page which divides the Old from the New Testament, and the picture is that of our Lord with the Evangelists and

¹ Cf. Report in Paulm, xiv: Del tabernaoulum . . . quod non fecimus pingi et in panelectis maioris capits collocuri.

¹ leading, bub, 10, 1887. 3 ii. 12 (vii. 307 Giles).

^{&#}x27;c. 10 (viii, 31.4 f. (liles); the references are in the first instance from De livasi.

• Academy, June 11, 1887.

their symbols; this is in the judgment of Prof. Browne¹ quite different in style from those in the first quaternion, and looks like a late and poor copy of earlier work, the drawing being inferior and the colours bad. The ornamentation, too, of the first quaternion, and especially the Ezra picture, could not at any rate have been designed in England. If Dr. Hamann is sure from the general orthography of the MS. that it was copied directly from an Italian, not a North-British exemplar, Prof. Browne is equally convinced that the draughtsman of the Ezra picture shows in his peculiar ornamentation the immediate influence of Ravenna or Rome. 'It seems fairly certain,' he says, 'that the Ezra picture was drawn in Ravenna, the home of Cassiodorus for so many years; and he suggests that a mosaic in the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia supplied the features, the book-case, and the stool on which Ezra is sitting: 'it seems impossible to doubt that Ezra's book-case was copied from this.'

If we examine the contents of the Prologue also, and the Amiatine list of books, we find that here too they do not agree with the actual books of the Manuscript; the Prologue (p. 200) lays stress on the mystic number 70 as being the total of the books of the Bible, but the next page (3 b) begins the Amiatine division with In hoc codice continentur ueteris et noui Testamenti Libri No. lxxi; the list itself, if we count Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, and Esdras as two books each, gives us a total of 70, and in the Codex itself, which inserts the Second Epistle of Peter, omitted in the list, we have again 712; thus the list and Prologue agree neither with themselves nor with the actual contents, and may well be as truly Cassiodorian as the other lists: Corssen, indeed, noted long ago 3 that the Prologue seemed to have nothing to do with the present Codex Amiatinus, and might well be a piece of true Cassiodorian work, and the reference to

¹ Academy, April 30, 1887.

² Ranke, in Theol. Literaturz., 1887, p. 272.

³ Die Bibeln des Cass. p. 625.

the palm-trees at Elim seems certainly to be a reference to the *Institutio*, c. xiv.

Here certainly is much which makes for the view that the first quaternion was bodily transferred from the Codex Grandior to its present place. The Codex Grandior was certainly in North Britain, for Bede saw it there. It may well have been the Pandectes uetustae translationis which Benedict Biscop or Ceolfrid brought from Rome; and it would be quite in keeping with the times had Ceolfrid, in presenting his magnificent new Pandect to the Holy See, tacked into it the quaternion, which had hitherto stood at the beginning of Cassiodorus' own Old-Latin Pandect.

Difficulties however meet us as we examine this hypothesis closely. The first indeed which suggested itself to Dr. Corssen was a chronological one; it was that Bede's language shows him to have seen the Cassiodorian Pandect himself, while the Codex Amiatinus left England in 715; but as Bede was born in 674, he would have had ample time to have seen the pictures in their original place and to have described them, before they left England. But the other arguments in favour of the identity are not really so strong as they seem; though the parchment of the first quaternion struck Prof. Browne 1 as looking somewhat darker and older than that of the rest of the MS., this, as Dr. Hort remarks², is but a trifling matter, and it can hardly be expected that in such a large MS. as this, it would be of the same quality throughout. The fact of the gathering being without a signature proves nothing, as in other MSS. the gatherings are sometimes without signatures for the prefatory matter³. A more important point is the difference of writing. That the handwriting in the first quaternion is different from the body of the work is certain; whether it be earlier is not quite so sure a point; and Dr. Corssen is of

¹ And also the present writer when he examined the MS. in May, 1887.

² Academy, Jan. 19, 1889.

³ As in the *Echternach Gospels*, Paris Lat. 9389, where the first signature is on f. 24 at the beginning of the Gospel, the prefatory matter being written on unsigned gatherings.

opinion that the three biblical lists resemble in their style the writing of the corrections and marginal notes of the text. Of course if they can be proved to be in the same hand the question is settled, and the preliminary quaternion may be later, or possibly contemporary, but certainly not earlier than the rest of the book; but on this point we still await the judgment of a skilled palaeographer.

The inferiority, again, of the picture in the middle of the book to those in the first quaternion is no argument for dating the latter a century earlier; it only suggests that two scribes were at work on the volume, and that the second, who may have been at work only a few months after the first, was a less skilful artist. The argument from the Italian character of the ornamentation is somewhat stronger, as British scribes were not often in the habit of slavishly copying foreign work; still a Roman scribe may have copied this ornamentation, as we saw reason above to suppose he may possibly have written the rest of the book (p. 285). At any rate all that the ornamentation proves is that it was designed in Italy; it may have been copied in England.

If we examine the contents of the quaternion, especially the Prologue and Amiatine list, we find that if they do not suit well with the actual present MS., neither would they suit the Codex Grandior. The first quaternion gives us, we must remember, four divisions of Scripture; Amiatine, Hieronymian, Hilarian and Epiphanian, and Augustinian; the Codex Grandior, according to the Institutio, c. xiv, would seem to have contained only three, and the actual books of the Bible followed the order of the antiqua translatio. In any case, then, the Prologue and Amiatine list must have been added later, and could not have formed part of the original Codex Grandior.

A still further difficulty awaits us as we examine Bede's words and those of Cassiodorus with regard to the Tabernacle and the Temple. Fols. 2 and 2 b of the Amiatinus contain, as we saw, a carefully drawn bird's-eye view of the

(

304

Tabernacle, but there is no representation in the quaternion as we now have it of Solomon's Temple; Cassiodorus, however, in the *Institutio*, c. v, speaks very distinctly of the *Tabernaculum Templumque Domini*, though in the treatise on the Psalms he speaks only of the Tabernacle.

Bede, in describing (see above, p. 300) the Temple, referred to, as he says, in Cassiodorus' Exposition of the Psalms, mentions some features—the triple portico—which are not found in the Amiatine picture 1. De Rossi's explanation of this difference seems all that could be desired, but it proves, at any rate, that the first quaternion of the Codex Amiatinus cannot have been 'bodily transferred,' as was at first supposed, from the Codex Grandior. Bede, he supposes, is citing from memory, and so confuses together the two distinct passages of Cassiodorus, that in the Institutio, mentioning the Tabernacle and Temple, and that in the Psalms, mentioning only the Tabernacle. It would appear that the Codex Grandior originally possessed the two pictures; but what has become of the Temple sheet if, or when, it was transferred to the Amiatinus? The loss of such a valuable sheet is a serious difficulty in the way of the identity of the two quaternions. Bede's description of the Tabernacle, again (De Tabernaculo, c. xii), does not quite, though it does very nearly, suit the Amiatine picture. He says :-

'Erat contra audam ostium in pariete altaris orientalis unde uel ligna ad alendum ignem immitti uel carbones et cineres possent egeri; quomodo in pictura Cassiodori Senatoris, cuius ipse in expositione psalmorum meminit, expressum uidimus (or uidemus); in qua etiam utrique altari, et holocausti uidelicet et incensi, pedes quattuor fecit. Quod utrumque eum, sicut et tabernaculi et templi positionem, a doctoribus Judaeorum didicisse putamus.'

Here, as De Rossi remarks, the description of Bede agrees with the Amiatine picture, with the exception of the ostium in the side of the altar, which is omitted in the picture.

¹ De Rossi, La Bibbia Offerta, etc., Roma 1887, p. 19 f., and De Origine, etc., Bibl. Sedis Apost. p. lxxviii.

This certainly is a difficulty, but we must remember that there may be two solutions of it: one, that the picture described by Bede was neither the Amiatine nor its immediate exemplar; another, that Bede was describing from memory in this passage, and consequently was not perfectly accurate. This is indeed likely if Bede was writing towards the end of his life, and the Codex with the picture of the Tabernacle had left England in 715; and it is just possible, as Prof. Browne suggests, that the missing Temple sheet was taken out of the quaternion in order to make room for the sheet with the Amiatine Prologue and list of contents, and remained at Wearmouth and Jarrow: there it would be often seen afterwards by Bede, and his curious difference of expression reperimus distincta of the Temple, expressum uidimus of the Tabernacle, would meet with an explanation 1. The language of Bede, then, would seem to leave us in doubt as to the identity of the Cassiodorian and Amiatine picture; the question must be solved on other grounds.

We now have to consider the last and most intricate point of all, the original order of leaves in the quaternion, though this again, however interesting as an exercise in reconstruction, cannot have, I venture to think, the decisive influence imagined by some writers, on its relation to the Codex Grandior. The order of leaves, as we saw (p. 288), has been twice disturbed. At present it is Fol. 1 blank, Fol. 1 b Dedication verses; 2 blank, 2 b and 3 Tabernacle picture; 3 b blank; 4 Prologue and 4 b contents (purple sheet); 5 Ezra picture, 5 b blank; 6 Hieronymian division (Lamb), 6 b blank; 7 Hilarian and Epiphanian division (Man), 7 b Pentateuch circles; 8 Augustinian division (Dove), 8 b blank? Fols. 1 and 8 are one piece; 2 and 3 are one piece, mounted

¹ Dr. Corssen (Academy, Apr. 7 and May 26, 1888) doubts the existence of the two pictures, and is convinced, from the language of Cassiodorus, that the Tabernacle and Temple are identical; I am bound to say, however, that De Rossi's explanation seems to me the more natural.

^a Academy—Prof. Browne, Apr. 30, 1887, Dr. Hort, June 11, 1887, Dr. Corssen, April 7, 1888, Prof. Browne, May 5, 1888, Dr. Hort, Jan. 19, 1889.

306

on a guard not sewn in; 4 is a single page on a guard with 7 mounted on the same guard and pasted on to the heel of 4; 5 and 6 are one piece, and the sewing is here; 6 b has at one time stood next to 8, for part of the couplet on the top of 8, Eloquium domini etc., has been impressed backwards on 6b; as a consequence of this, 5 must have also come after 1; the Tabernacle sheet 2 and 3 must have stood 4 and 5, as the middle sheet of the quaternion is the only position in which the picture could have been seen. We are certain, then, of the exact position of fols. 2 and 3, and of the relative positions of 1 and 8, 5 and 6; and if 1 and 8 originally stood outside, as the condition of 8 b suggests, then 5 and 6 stood 2 and 7, and the remaining two leaves, separate but sewn together again, 4 and 7, must have stood 3 and 6. Such was the order proposed at first by Prof. Browne, and partly agreed to by Dr. Hort, who argued however that the Pentateuch circle (7 b) would have come more naturally after, not between, the lists, and that the Hilarian list (7) is placed last in Cassiodorus; he then placed 4 and 7 at 1 and 8, and the present 1 and 8 at 2 and 7, 5 and 6 going 3 and 6, and 2 and 3 as before, at 4 and 5. He imagined the Pentateuch circles to be later than the rest of the quaternion, except of course the Donation verses and Dr. Corssen, however, maintained the writing of the Prologue to be the same as that of the Contents, and the Pentateuch circles the same as that of the Hilarian division, founding on this an argument for the post-Cassiodorian origin of the whole quaternion; for if 4 and 7 were originally the same sheet, cut in two and sewn together again, as he imagined, by the last binder of the book 1, it would follow that the writing of the Prologue, lists, and Pentateuch circles was the same as that of the contents, that is, not earlier than that of the rest of the MS.; he agreed, however,

¹ Prof. Browne, in horror at the bare idea of such barbarism, exclaims, 'the modern binder still lives, and is still allowed to visit the Laurentiana!' (Academy, May 5, 1888.)

with Prof. Browne that I and 8 were probably still in their original places.

The final disquisition on the original order was given in the Academy of Jan. 18, 1889, by Dr. Hort, beyond which perhaps no one can attempt to go. We can hardly do more than give outlines of it in this Essay, which has already grown too long. Following a suggestion of Corssen's that the human head over the Hilarian division might be possibly intended for a representation of the first Person in the Trinity, he proposed to place that list first, the Hieronymian division with the Lamb, or symbol of the Second Person, coming next, and lastly, the Augustinian with the Dove, the symbol of the Holy Spirit: this will again make the order of the lists the same as that originally suggested by Prof. Browne; the difficulties of the Pentateuch circles on 7 b, and the single purple sheet 4 he would resolve by supposing that they were transposed by the North-British scribe when he copied the Cassiodorian MS. Prof. Browne's supposition here seems more probable, that 4 and 7 were not originally the same sheet, but two separate sheets sewn together, the purple sheet being substituted by Ceolfrid for the lost Temple sheet. Dr. Hort, however, thinks the arrangement to have been a deliberate transposition by Ceolfrid, when he was obtaining a direct copy (for such he would seem to think it) of the Cassiodorian matter for his own Bible. The Cassiodorian quaternion was as follows:-1 and 1 b blank; 2 Ezra, 2 b blank; 3 Prologue, 3 b blank; 4 and 5 Tabernacle; 6 Hilarian list, 6 b blank; 7 Hieronymian list, 7 b blank; 8 Augustinian list, 8 b blank. Now Ceolfrid in a Vulgate Bible would naturally wish to place the Hieronymian list first, and in this endeavour would alter the arrangement as follows. The first row of numerals represent the present position of the leaves, the second their supposed original order:-

```
4 Prologue. (1)
```

¹ blank. (2)

⁴b Contents. (1b)

¹b Donation verses. (2b)



308 The Codex Amiatinus and its Birthplace.

5 Ezra. (3)	6 Hieronymian list. (6)
5b blank. (3b)	6b blank. (6b)
2 blank (4)	8 Augustinian list. (7)
2b Tabernacle. (4b)	8b blank. (7b)
3 Tabernacle. (5)	7 Hilarian list. (8)
3b blank. (5b)	7b Pentateuch Circles. (8b)

And with this arrangement we may rest satisfied. It seems to suggest that the first quaternion was at any rate a direct copy of the lost *Codex Grandior* of Cassiodorus; but the difficulties of the lost Temple sheet, and of the present state of fols. 4 and 7, do not seem entirely answered by it, and perhaps never can be.

APPENDIX

ON THE ITALIAN ORIGIN OF THE CODEX AMIATINUS AND THE LOCALIZING OF ITALIAN MSS.

W. SANDAY.

THE tests put forward by Dr. Hamann (p. 286 supra) in proof of the Italian origin of the Codex Amiatinus possess an importance which extends beyond the history of this particular MS. If they should be found to hold good, they would supply us with a welcome means of identifying other MSS. as Italian, and would so contribute to a process which is likely to be characteristic of the stage of textual criticism on which we are now entering.

It is coming to be realised more and more that in order to restore the text of an ancient document, especially of one with wide diffusion and attestation, much copied and therefore much corrupted, it is necessary first to know its history. And it is coming also to be realised that the external history of a text and its internal history must go hand in hand. They mutually strengthen and support each other. By pursuing both at once, relations are often suggested which would otherwise pass unperceived. Thus the first thing that we need to know about a MS. is when it was written, where it was written, and where its ancestors were written. Anything which helps us to find out this is of value.

We have several means at our command for ascertaining the birthplace of a MS. The most obvious is the occurrence of notes connecting it with a particular library or owner. These, however, far more often apply only to the later stages of its history, which are of less importance. A larger step is gained when an extant MS. can be identified with one of those in the ancient lists, e.g. in Becker's Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui. The palaeographical test is more delicate, and it is probable that as our knowledge of the different shades of handwriting increases, more use will be made of this than has been made hitherto. The last test is that



which is supplied by the occurrence of forms either of grammar or spelling which can be traced to some definite locality. This test, however, greatly needs more exact definition than it has yet received; and it is this which constitutes the interest of any fresh contribution to it.

These points of grammar and orthography are clearly a branch of the larger question of provincial Latin in general. In regard to this there may be said to be two schools: one, of which Schuchardt may be taken as the representative, admits indeed the distinction between literary Latin or the Latin of cultivated society and the vernacular Latin of common speech, but regards the latter as generally diffused throughout the whole of the Roman Empire, and not dialectically varied—or at least with no recognisable variations—in different localities 1; the other maintains and lays stress upon these peculiarities. The only book with which I am acquainted directly dealing with the subject, Sittl's Die lokalen Verschiedenheiten der lateinischen Sprache (Erlangen, 1882) takes this line.

It is much to have opened the subject and attacked it systematically, and Sittl deserves credit for bringing together a quantity of useful material; but any one who reads his book will, I think, rise from it with the sense that there is still a great deal to be done, and that stricter logic will have to be applied before assured conclusions can be arrived at.

The one great caution which seems to me to be most often forgotten is the difficulty of proving the negative side of the propositions involved. It is comparatively easy to prove that a certain usage existed in a certain locality; but then, before it can be said to be characteristic of that locality, it must be also proved that it did not exist or existed only sparingly in other localities. Nor is it enough simply to say that we have no evidence of it. That absence of evidence may be due to nothing more than the defects of our knowledge and scantiness of our materials. For instance, it is constantly asserted that such and such a usage is African because it occurs in Fronto or Apuleius or Tertullian or Cyprian or Arnobius. But how much of this turns upon a bare argumentum ex silentio, where the witnesses moreover are of necessity silent for the simple reason that they do not exist? For the two

¹ 'Dieses (das rustike Latein) erscheint auf den Denkmälern aller Gegenden eigentlich immer als ein und dasselbe' (Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins, i. 92; quoted by Sittl, p. 44).

centuries, roughly speaking, from the year 120 A.D. to the year 320 A.D., the great mass of the extant Latin literature is African. How easily might the balance be altered if we had as much literature from Italy or Gaul or Spain as we have from Africa! This is a consideration for which I do not think that nearly enough allowance is made.

On the other hand, there is a caution which must be observed on the opposite side. Isolated examples of a particular form or of a particular usage are consistent with the hypothesis that they are really foreign to the district in which they are found. To take a clear case: no inference can be drawn from the Latin inscriptions found in the East. These must proceed from travellers or immigrants who would bring with them the customs of their own homes; and, so far as we can tell, their homes might be anywhere in the Latin-speaking half of the Empire. So, too, there would be Italian settlers in Gaul or Spain, and African legionaries might find their way into Illyricum or Britain. In like manner we may know for certain that a MS. is Irish, English, or Merovingian, and yet it may contain forms which belong neither to France nor to any part of the British Islands, but which have been perpetuated from some other MS. of an altogether different and distant origin. The evidence is hedged about with drawbacks and qualifications of all kinds; and all that we can do is to bear these well in mind and discount our inferences accordingly.

The materials at our disposal are accumulating daily. and foremost is the splendid Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, backed by other collections, such as those of Le Blant for Gaul and De Rossi for Christian Rome. Then come the critical editions with an apparatus ample enough for the purpose, such as would be preeminently the Monumenta Germaniae Historica and the Corpus Soriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum. Many single works would of course have to be added—notably Ribbeck's Virgil—and a most important contribution to this side of the subject is made by the appearance of the first fasciculus of Bishop Wordsworth's Vulgate. Some relevant statements of value may be extracted from the grammarians, but these must not at once be assumed to be trustworthy, because the range of observation on which they depend was often limited. And lastly, the Romance scholar will have an important voice in the matter, because he will be able to determine from existing forms the older forms which must have preceded them.



I very much hope that the subject may be systematically taken up. It is one to which, as it seems to me, a young scholar might devote himself both with interest and profit. The result of his work would be to furnish criteria which would be useful in many directions, and in the process of forming them he would acquire a great variety of knowledge. On a subject which lies somewhat outside my own department I may perhaps be forgiven for going to the more accessible sources, and for collecting some of my data in a rather desultory fashion. I confine myself for the present to testing the points put forward by Dr. Hamann.

The points so put forward as proving that Codex Amiatinus was either itself written in Italy, or at least copied from an Italian exemplar, are as follows:—

S = X: homo senes, Jud. xix. 16, 17; senia (féria), Ecclus.

N inserted: gigans, Job xvi. 15; optimantium, Jer. xxv. 36.

C inserted before X: ancxius, Ps. cxlii. 4; uncxit, 1 Reg. x. 1. Sub assimilated before S: sussaltastis, Ps. cxiii. 6.

Ad assimilated before M: ammirata, Apoc. xiii. 3; quemammodum, Luc. viii. 47.

A = AU: agusto, 2 Par. xv. 16; ascultabant, Act. viii. 10.

O = AU: clodum, Matt. xviii. 8.

 $\mathbf{U} = \mathbf{A}\mathbf{U}$: cluserunt, 2 Par. xxix. 7.

A = E: adtractaverit, Gen. xxvii, 12.

 $\mathbf{E} = \mathbf{I}$: redemet, Ps. liv. 19.

Vowel prefixed to 8 impure: histriatarum, 3 Reg. vii. 24.

S = EX: ! espendebat, Judith xiii. 8; scandescet, Sap. v. 23.

Vowel dropped before S impure: Spaniae, 1 Macc. viii. 3.

PH = P, DI = Z: tophadius (topazus), Ezech. xxviii. 13.

Dropping of final M: totum belli impetu, 2 Par. xxxii. 2; in tantum arrogantiae tumore, Esth. xvi. 12; incidemus in manu Dei et non in manus hominum, Ecclus. ii. 22.

We will take these points in order.

S = X. From Campania, Bruttium and Lucania there are three examples of visit (= vixit); from Calabria and the Eastern side of the peninsula four examples; from Latium four examples (two each of visit and bisit); from Cisalpine Gaul two examples, conius and sestum; from Sardinia three examples, coius twice and visit. From Spain we get only one extremely doubtful example of es (= ex); but from Gallia Narbonensis there are several, coius, Santippa, sesta (from a Christian inscription ascribed by Le Blant

to the sixth century), supples (also Christian) viset, bisit. In Africa, too, there are six examples (two each of conius and visit), besides the proper name Estricata five times 1.

Turning to MSS. there are two or three examples in Ribbeck's MSS. of Virgil * which may be presumed to be Italian. There are also two examples (senes and senis), which appear to be original in the text of Jordanes, who wrote in Italy. Many MSS. of Sedulius, including the oldest, the famous Turin MS. in capitals of the seventh century (Zangemeister and Wattenbach, Exemp. Codd. Lat. pl. 16), in Pasch. Carm. iv. 2 read maestum, one MS. of the eighth century mestum. Huemer has printed mixtum, on much inferior authority, because of the parallel passage of Juvencus; but it does not follow that because Juvencus in Spain wrote mixtus before 337 A. D. therefore Sedulius may not have written mistus or maestus in a different region and more than a century Sedulius may be taken to represent Italian usage. One group of MSS. has a note to the effect that he taught philosophy in Italy, but wrote his heroics in Achaia : and there is more reason to believe than to doubt the first part of this statement. I have not been able to find another instance of this interchange in his works, but I will not say that there are none. The one writer of whom it seems clear that he habitually wrote senes or senis is Venantius Fortunatus. These forms occur no less than twelve times in his poetical works, with a strong preponderance of MS. authority. There is a more even balance between senes and senis, but senes throughout seems to have been rightly admitted into the text. If Venantius Fortunatus had stood alone there might have been a doubt whether the tradition which he represented was Italian or He was born in North Italy, near Treviso, but spent Gallican. the greater part of his life in a monastery at Poitiers. We have, however, already had the evidence of inscriptions for the neighbouring province of Gallia Narbonensis. There is also at least one well attested example of senes in Gregory of Tours; senes

¹ Corssen (Aussprache, i. 297) remarks on the tendency for the guttural element in z to be lost before c and t: Estricatus and Estricata are among his instances: he gives a number of others, most of which appear to be derived from Italy or Africa.

² The true Latin form is of course *Vergilius*, but in English it seems best to keep the familiar 'Virgil.' Besides the objections to innovating in such a matter, to write 'Vergil' would be to obscure the history of the name and to make it appear as if it had been introduced into our literature at a different period and by a different method from that by which it was really introduced into it.



The Italian Origi. 312

I very much hope that the up. It is one to which, as it devote himself both with it. work would be to furnish credirections, and in the prove a great variety of knowled outside my own departme to the more accessible son in a rather desultory fash. testing the points put for The points so put

was either itself written exemplar, are as follow

S = X: homo sem

xx. 31.

N inserted: gig. C inserted before

Sub assimilated

Ad assimilated

ammodum, Luc. V

 $\mathbf{A} = \mathbf{AU} : a_{\mathcal{L}}^{(q)}$

o = AU: ch

 $\mathbf{U} = \mathbf{A}\mathbf{U} : \mathrm{cl}$

A = E: adt

 $\mathbf{E} = \mathbf{I} \colon \mathbf{red}$

Aomel bic

8 = EX:

Lowel q.

 $PH = \Gamma$

Droppi

in tantun

Dei et n

We '

8=

exam) the '

each

anc

 \mathbf{F}_{1}

(



also occurs in a French MS. of the Vulgate (G) at Luke i. 18; and the tenth century MS. C of the Heptateuch of Cyprian, bishop of Toulon, has three instances of hesternus for externus, and one of sescentos (ed. Mayor, p. xlviii). It does not appear that this poem ever passed through Italian hands. The Codex Trivultianus of Corippus, an African writer of the age of Justinian, has as many as seven examples. The MS. itself is of the fourteenth century, but it may very well have been made from an ancient archetype, as the work does not seem to have been much copied.

There is also decisive evidence for the writing of s for x in Spain. A ninth century MS. of Cassian, which Petschenig, the editor, calls 'Lombardic,' but which is really Visigothic from the monastery of Silos, near Burgos 1, is characterized by the forms ansietas, ausilium, justa, senes 2.

The Appendix to Probus³, among its directions as to orthography, says that senes is to be written and not senis (ed. Keil, iv. 198).

On the whole, though we have thus sufficient evidence of the prevalence of this corruption in Italy, there is also reason to think that it existed in Africa, and satisfactory proof of its existence in Gaul.

N inserted. We may dismiss the many instances of words in which the insertion of n is both correct in itself, and supported by a large amount of early authority, though it has dropped out of common use. Such would be totiens, quotiens, vicensimus, conjunx, and we might add also formonsus, which is spelt thus both in MSS, and inscriptions. Here the n appears to be etymologically right, and similar to that which has dropped out of xapieus (for xapieurs). Not so correct in itself, though equally well attested by early and good MSS, is the form thensaurus: it is more assured in MSS, of the Old Latin than in those of the Vulgate. On much the same footing as this would be the form occansio, which has also a large amount of early attestation. It is found in Codex

¹ The MS. is described by M. Delisle in *Mélanges de Paléographie*, &c. p. 78 f.

² Ioh. Cassiani Opp. ed. Petschenig, p. xxxvii (Vienna, 1888). I was convinced from the orthography that this MS. was Visigothic, and had little difficulty in identifying it.

³ Sittl originally held that this was a compilation which did not represent any particular province (*Die lok. Verschied.* p. 35 n.), but he has recently expressed the opinion, on what seem to be good grounds, that it belongs to Africa (*Archiv f. lat. Lexikog.* vi. p. 557).

Virosus is said to = vironeus, from a root-form viro-ueneso- = viro-uent-to-(V. Henry, Précis de Grammaire comparée, p. 169).

Vercellensis (a), which palaeography and tradition alike refer to the fourth century, and in Codex Veronensis (b), which is said to be not more than a century later. Both of these are probably Italian MSS. The form occurs no less than nine times in Codex Fuldensis of the Vulgate (Bp. Wordsworth's F), which we know to have been written in Campania just before the year 546. It occurs even more often in Codex Claromontanus (D Paul.), for which Dr. Corssen has recently claimed an Italian origin. This may very possibly be right, though the arguments made use of point rather against Africa than definitely for Italy as compared with other localities where a Graeco-Latin MS. might be written. The common view is that the companion MS., Codex Bezae (D Evv.), was written in Southern Gaul. The place of origin of these early Graeco-Latin MSS. is an interesting subject of enquiry that has not yet been brought to any settled conclusion. Occansio does not occur in the N. T. portion of Codex Amiatinus. It occurs in a v. l. of the French MS. E at Mat. xxvi. 16. It is found once, with three other instances of n inserted, though not before s, in Jordanes.

Some curious examples occur sporadically in the inscriptions: herens in Macedonia and Southern Gaul, sciantis (= sciatis) in Calabria, superstens in proconsular Asia, memoriens = memoriae in Dalmatia, and the proper name Crenecens, which is found repeatedly, but, strange to say, is the only example except coniunx in Africa. Very remarkable is the form Monse, which is characteristic of the sole existing fragmentary MS. of the Assumptio Moyseos which is assigned to the sixth century, or possibly earlier (Fritzsche, Libr. Apoc. p. xxxiii., after Ceriani). The nearest parallel to this with which I am acquainted is Heronde in the Lichfield or St. Chad's Gospels (Bp. Wordsworth's L) in Matt. ii. 22. Less anomalous than these are the vernacular forms finctus (= fictus), which is found in Priscillian (ed. Schepss, p. 21. l. 16), and finctiosus (= ficticius), which is rightly restored by Miodónski in the text of the De Aleatoribus, c. 7. Also nearer to the beaten track are the two examples from Cod. Amiatinus, gigans and optimans. Plenty of parallels may be found for the first of these. The Calabrian inscriptions have Atlans and Thoans. Atlans is found generally in the MSS. of Virgil, while single MSS. have Acragans, Pallans: superstens, increpitans (for increpitas) and flectens, praemens as futures are also found. It is in this latter class that we must look for analogies to

¹ M. Berger questions this early date, but I believe it to be on the whole probable,

optimans. We note that redundans for redundas occurs in MSS. of Venantius Fortunatus (iii. 24. 15), though in a group which appears to avoid the form senes. In Gregory of Tours there are several examples of n inserted before s like accensus (=accessus), perhaps from confusion with ascensus. The only identical examples that I have found of gigans are quoted by Georges in his Lex. d. lat. Wortformen, both from the Amplonian Glossaries. are important for the point directly at issue. So far there would seem to be a preponderance of evidence for Italy as the centre from which these forms had radiated. These glossaries, however, in the form in which they have come down to us, would seem to be widely removed from Italy. The MSS. of both glossaries are said to contain notes in Anglo-Saxon 1. Still, if we went far enough back, the forms might have come in upon Italian soil. With no great centre were the first English scholars in such frequent communication as with Rome. On the whole the view that this inserted n favours an Italian origin seems to me, if not proved, yet perhaps rather more probable than not.

CX=X. For this there are nine examples in Cisalpine Gaul, ten in the rest of Italy outside Rome; but the same number in Gallia Narbonensis, three in Sardinia, three in Spain, and many (about thirty-six) in Africa. The like phenomenon occurs several times in Jordanes and in the MSS. of Paulus' Historia Langobardorum, at least once in Orientius (Mr. Ellis prints extincxit in Comm. i. 356), once (sancxit) in Gregory of Tours, once, if not more, in an Anglo-Saxon MS. of Sedulius dating from the eighth century, and several times, not to say frequently, in the group of Irish MSS. published by Prof. T. K. Abbott (Ev. Vers. Antehieron. pp. vi, xxi). In Matt. xi. 17 plancxisti occurs in R (Irish), and plancxistis in E (French with Irish affinities). I imagine that the wide diffusion of this usage will not be disputed. There is hardly one of the Latin-speaking provinces from which there is not evidence for it.

Sub assimilated before S and Ad before M. The assimilation of prepositions is a subject on which it is dangerous to generalise. Each word must be taken by itself, because a writer will assimilate one word and not another which seems to be exactly analogous to it. Instances of the assimilation of sub before s are comparatively rare. Those that I have been able to find are all Italian: suscriptione from Tusculum, suscripsi from Cannae (both quoted by Sittl, p. 71), and suscriptum from

¹ Loewe, Prodromus Glossariorum, p. 114 f.

So far as it goes this the Calabrian volume (CIL. ix. 5420). evidence would favour Dr. Hamann's conclusion, but it is too slight to build an induction upon. The assimilation both of sub and ad before m is more common. Yet neither is found in the Campanian volume, and only ammissus in the Calabrian, along with numerous instances of non-assimilation. Non-assimilation appears to be also the rule in Latium: there are no examples of either sub or ad assimilated. In the province of Asia im memoriam occurs twice, in Dalmatia once, with im bello, im praetorio: in Africa there is one example of amministrare dating from the fourth century. In the MSS. of Virgil, where we should rather expect to find it, there is only one imperfect example of ad assimilated before m: A MORSO Cod. Med. Georg. ii. 379. Assimilation of sub and in before m is much more frequent (ommutuit, summersum, summittere, summovere, im magnum, im mare, im me, im medium, &c.). Similar assimilations appear to be characteristic of the Vatican MS. (V), which dates from the seventh century, of the Excerpts of Eugippius; and they are still more marked in two ninth century French MSS. P and T of the same author. They would, in fact, seem to be carried back, if not to Eugippius himself, to the original copy of the Excerpts. So large a work, consisting merely of extracts from St. Augustine, would probably not be written out by the abbot himself, but by some of his monks. In the Vita Severini, which we may suppose that Eugippius would write with his own hand, there are no very striking examples until we come to Cod. N, a MS. of the tenth or eleventh century, which has quemammodum throughout. There is strong evidence for the usage in Victor Vitensis, where Petschenig reads ammoneret, ammonere, ammissi—in all six times. In Jordanes it occurs twelve times. In Sedulius it is probably not original but characteristic of two MSS. M T, both probably Italian. Arndt has admitted amminiculo once into the text of Gregory of Tours (p. 166. l. 4). Assimilation is common in Cod. Casinensis (A1) of this writer, a MS. of the eleventh or twelfth century in broken Lombardic, said to show signs of having been copied from a Merovingian exemplar. It is however probable that forms like ammirabilis are really Italian. Gregory adopts the commoner forms of assimilation, but he more often does not assimi-

¹ There is much to be said for the spelling 'abbat,' which has had a continuous existence in our literature from the twelfth century onwards ('abbad' occurs c. 889), but as 'abbot' is also perfectly legitimate (see Dr. Murray's Dictionary s. v.) the usage of the majority may decide.



late. Assimilation is rare in Alcimus Avitus and Venantius Fortunatus (there are no instances of suss- or amm-): it is very slight in the specimens of Visigothic writing: and, speaking generally, it may be said that it is avoided by the writers of the Caroline period as represented in the two volumes of Poetae Medii Aevi. The same would hold good for the two books of the Historia Ecclesiastica, which are all that has been critically edited of the works of Bede.

In the Vulgate ammirabantur seems to be assured in Matt. vii. 28: it occurs in eleven of Bishop Wordsworth's MSS. (in one case as a correction) of very varied origin: summiserunt is also decisively attested in Mark ii. 4. There is a division of authorities in Acts ix. 25, x. 11: in the first of these places the Campanian MS. F does not assimilate.

In the grammatical treatise of Cassiodorius assimilation is distinctly recognised: ammonet and amminiculo are given as examples, also summovit and sumministrat (ed. Keil, p. 162 f.). In this part of his treatise Cassiodorius is quoting from an earlier writer, Papirianus; but he himself wrote in the same manner (e.g. ammonui, p. 146).

Taking all the evidence together, a better case appears to be made out than we have as yet bad. There is, I think, a presumption that the less usual forms of assimilation are Italian.

A = AU. Corssen would confine this usage during the early centuries to proper names (Aussprache, i. 663 f.) According to him it begins in Greek inscriptions of century I (ΚΛΑΔΙΟΥ, ΑΓΟΥΣΤΕ), then in Latin. It is found most frequently in De Rossi's Roman inscriptions; but it also occurs three times in Cisalpine Gaul, once at Puteoli, once in Sardinia; also twice in Spain (Cladius, Glacus), and three times for the name of the month (id. and kal. Agust.) Besides Agusto, atem also occurs in Codex Monacensis (q), a Freising MS. of the seventh century, which is thought to have been written in the eastern half of the Merovingian dominions; and two instances of agurior for auguror are given by Caspari, Hom. de Sacril. p. 53 (Christiania, 1886). Knoell notes a single instance in the Vatican MS. (saec. vii) of the Excerpts of Eugippius. He remarks upon this (p. vii), as he says that the confusion is very common in some of his MSS. Unfortunately he does not tell us which; but we may infer from the specimen given on p. xxv. that Q was one of them. As a near ancestor of Q was written at Naples in the year 581, it is possible that the peculiarity may be Italian. When however we turn to the Vulgate of Luke ii. 1

we find that agusto is read in DLQRTY, of which DQR are Irish, LY English, and T Spanish. Not only agusti, aguste, but also agures (bis) occur in specimens of Visigothic writing of the eighth century (Ewald and Loewe, tabb. viii, xi). Similar forms appear both in French and English MSS. (Pal. Soc. ii. 35; Cat. Anc. MSS., pp. 60, 61; Arndt, Schrifttafeln, tab. 16). Agustus, Agustidunum are the common forms in Gregory of Tours. The grammarian Caper lays down ausculta non asculta (ed. Keil, vii. 108), which shows that both forms were current. And if turning to modern usage it is argued that the Italian form is 'Agostino,' it may be replied that the Spanish is also 'Agustin.'

O = AU. Clodus is no doubt the vernacular spelling. We are reminded of the story about Vespasian's pronunciation of plaustra as plostra (Sueton. Vesp. 22), which was apparently a provincialism derived from his Sabine birthplace. Clodus is widely attested in MSS. of the Old-Latin Version, in both its forms, African and European. This, however, would not be decisive, as the form which is called African need not have been African in its origin, circulated outside Africa, and is extant in MSS. which are probably not African. Yet there can be no doubt that clodus was really current in Africa: it has an assured place in the text of Cyprian. Clodus and claudus are found side by side in Irish MSS. of the seventh or eighth centuries. Gregory of Tours certainly wrote clodus: so too Venantius Fortunatus: the majority of the Vulgate MSS. have it in Matt. xv. 30, 31.

U = AU. The forms clusi for clausi, clusum for clausum are also very widely diffused. They are found in MSS. of all kinds, both of the Old Latin and of the Vulgate (e.g. Luke xiii. 25 clauserit c f ff, d, cluserit b d e i l q; Matt. vi. 6 clauso codd. plur.; cluso PFOJL*MO*QRZ; Matt. xiii 15 clauserunt BKM TVWXZ*, cluserunt ACFHOJMO*Y). Examples like these show the presence of the u-forms in every region where the Bible was copied. They also occur in Apuleius, Tertullian, Cyprian, Lucifer Calaritanus (several instances in each), also once in Salvian of Marseilles, though not apparently in Claudianus Mamertus, Eugippius, Orientius, or Sedulius.

A = E. Not uncommon in inscriptions in the word consacrare; but a more exact parallel to the adtractaverit of Codex Amiatinus is supplied by Gregory of Tours, where three of the oldest and best MSS. (two of the seventh century and one of the eighth) read contractans. I see too that Mr. Ellis reads detractans in Avienus,

xxviii. 19, with Jeep in Claud. Rapt. Pros. i. 156, observing that retractare is invariable. We might also point to Cyprian, Ep. lxvii. 9, where all Hartel's MSS. have detractores or detractatores.

E = I. The single example of this redemet (= redimet) need not detain us. Numbers of such cases might be quoted from the inscriptions or MSS. of every region. It is so frequent in the British MSS. of the Vulgate as almost to be regarded as a characteristic of these islands; but it is too clearly attested elsewhere. I pass over for the same reason the aspirate in hostium.

Vowel prefixed to 8 impure. More interesting than the last examples is the form histriatarum (= striatarum in 3 Reg. vii. 24). The prefixing of a vowel to s impure is of course not rare in the Romance countries. In the Spanish inscriptions there are four examples like Ischolasticus; in Africa four examples, and many proper names; in Calabria one example of i prefixed and two of e (espiritum, explendidus). Le Blant quotes a number of examples (Inscr. Chrét. de la Gaule, p. cxviii). Jordanes has expectaculum (which is also found in Priscillian) and expoliatam; and there are similar examples in Gregory of Tours. Some curious forms occur in the single extant MS. of Arnobius, Codex Parisinus, saec. ix. in., copied from a Lombardic (? Merovingian) original, where a is prefixed in this way (e.g. aspiritu, ascauros, adscribuntur for scribuntur; ed. Reifferscheid, p. x), and what I suppose is still more peculiar, instructum for structum, inscientia for scientia, inspecuali for spectaculi, &c., in all five examples, and yet others. Nearer to the particular form in question would be hispatii, which occurs on p. 53 of the Peregrinatio ad Loca Sancta 1, which is thought to be work of an Aquitanian lady named Sylvia, and appears to have been written in 385-388 A.D. The MS. in which the form occurs is Lombardic of the tenth century. We have, however, a still more exact parallel in the form histriaturis for striaturis, which is common to all the six leading MSS. of Apollinaris Sidonius (Ep. iv. ix. 4; p. 60. l. 6, ed. Luetjohann). It would thus go back at least to the archetype of these MSS., and perhaps even to Sidonius himself or the scribe whom he employed. In any case the form must have been in use in Gaul as well as in Italy.

The converse case of Spania for Hispania, on which Dr. Hamann also tries to base an argument, is of frequent occurrence.

¹ Ed. Gamurrini; cf. Wölfflin, Archiv f. lat. Lexikog. iv. 260.

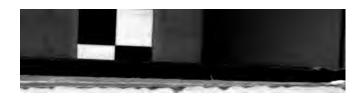
It is found in Spanish inscriptions, and in the specimens of Visigothic writing (Ewald and Loewe, tab. xiv): it occurs in the Muratorian Fragment (which is probably Italian) and in the MS. of Arnobius (once): it is well authenticated in Gregory of Tours and is the constant spelling (thirty-six times) in Jordanes.

S=EX. I hardly know whether we need seek a parallel for espendebat which Dr. Hamann quotes from Judith xiii. 8. In the MS. both the intrusive letters are marked for omission. They might possibly represent a reading expendebat. The Clementine text has pendebat, which is doubtless right.

The form scandescet for excandescet in Sap. v. 23 has many analogies in that remarkable MS. Cod. Bezae (D Evv.). The forms which occur so frequently as to be characteristic of this MS., sconspectu, scoruscatio, scoruscus, appear to mark a still further stage of development. They must, I suppose, have arisen from ex conspectu, excoruscatio, though the preposition has entirely lost its force (the reading in Acts vii. 46 is in sconspectual). It were much to be wished that we knew where Cod. Bezae itself was written. The common view, as we have seen, assigns it to the South of France. In favour of this would be the curious form sonium (= $\mu i \rho \mu \mu ra$, Luke xxi. 34), which is naturally compared with 'soin'.

PH=P, and DI=Z. The spelling tophadius is another interesting point. The aspiration of p is not very common and does not seem, so far as I can judge, to be local. The spelling topadium occurs in the leading MS. (M) of the genuine Speculum of St. Augustine (ed. Weihrich, p. iii): this MS. is of the ninth century and came from St. Emmeran's at Ratisbon. Cod. Bobiensis (k) of the Old Latin has baptidiator in Matt. xi. 11 (baptiziator five times elsewhere). Mr. Maunde Thompson believes that k was written in Italy; but, however this may be, baptidiare occurs four times in the Peregrinatio (Wölfflin, Archiv, iv. 260), and we have also rabidiare (Ronsch, It. u. V. p. 171), exorcidiare (ib. p. 458), catomidiare (Georges). And even though we should suppose, what would be difficult to prove, that all the MSS. in which these forms occurred were Italian, there would still remain other instances which could not be thus accounted for. The corresponding change of z for di (especially in the form zabulus) is very widely distributed

¹ See, however, especially Ducange s. v. 'soniare,' which appears to be found in glossaries on the *Leges Langobardorum*, but was also current in France. Ducange's glossaries have somnium, φροντίς, Ιδιατικῶτ: somnior, μεριμνῶ.



—from Commodian (in Palestine?) to the Irish Books of Kells and Durrow.

The dropping of M is the last of Dr. Hamann's instances. It is, however, too common to furnish any criterion. There are many examples in the Spanish and African inscriptions besides those in Italy; and instances similar to those quoted from Cod. Amiatinus are plentiful enough in other MSS.

To sum up. The results of this enquiry must be confessed to be disappointing; they are for the most part negative rather than positive. Many of the points which we have been discussing (c inserted before x, u=au, a=e, e=i, ph=h, dropping of final m) hardly seem to have even a prima facie case in their favour. We should add to these o = au in clodus, but for the story about Vespasian. It is possible that this form may have been Italian in its origin, but at least from the third century onwards it is common in other provinces. Perhaps the same may be said of a = au in Agustinus, &c. This too may have come originally from Italy, but it is also firmly established in Spain and found its way frequently into the North. The accretion or suppression of vowels before s impure, and the substitution of s for x are not so much characteristic of Italy as of the Romance countries in general. There remain the epenthesis of n, as in gigans, assimilation of prepositions, and di = z. In regard to these, the evidence collected has been of course far from exhaustive: its proportions might easily be altered by wider enquiry: there is also some uncertainty as to the localities to which the different items of evidence are to be referred. It is a delicate question of the weighing of evidence on which I am by no means sure that my own impression is right: still I am inclined to think that there is some ground for Dr. Hamann's contention, and that the examples are strewn more thickly as we approach Italian soil.

It must not be thought that all the branches of this kind of enquiry are equally inconclusive. The type of Visigothic writing stands out very distinctly. Extreme examples of it may be seen in Cod. Cavensis (C) of the Vulgate, and in the Paris MS. (O) above referred to of Ioh. Cassianus. More normal examples would be the common readings of $CT\Theta$ in the Vulgate, and some of the specimens of writing in Ewald and Loewe's collection. Nowhere but in Spanish MSS. have I found mici = mihi, and the substitution of qu for c (as in quur) is more common than elsewhere.

Some characteristics also come out in the Irish MSS. Extreme examples of these would be the Book of Armagh and Dr. T. K. Abbott's Cod. Userianus II, more normal examples the Books of Kells and Durrow and the Rushworth Gospels. There is a very common tendency in Irish MSS. to the doubling especially of s in forms like possitus, nissi. Nowhere but in the Book of Armagh have I found the curious form anguelus (= angelus): forms like diciens, vidiens are marked in Cod. Userianus, and it is a curious coincidence that diciens occurs also in Cod. Bobiensis (k), which, although it belonged to St. Columban's monastery, is possibly older than St. Columban himself, and at least not Irish (O. L. B. T. ii. pp. clxi, clxv.). The Visigothic MS. of Cassian, however, has concupiscientia, inpudiens.

I rather believe that the doubling of consonants in the penultimate, as in *obtullit*, is characteristic of Northern France, including the Valley of the Loire.

A few more facts of some interest may be adduced in regard to the assimilation of d before m. This is not original in the writings of Cassian. The form quemadmodum occurs frequently in both the Institutions and the Conferences without variant. Assimilation is characteristic of a particular MS. N (Cod. 483 of the Arsenal at Paris of the 10th or 11th century) of the treatise Contra Nestorium. It is equally characteristic of the archetype of all the extant MSS. of Sidonius (cf. the preface by Leo to Luetjohann's edition, p. xxxi). This archetype appears to have been written in the eighth century (ibid. p. xxvii). It does not follow that Sidonius himself assimilated, and to judge from his text the editor appears to think that he did not. Arguing from Cassian on the one hand, and from Gregory of Tours on the other, the presumption might be thought to be in this direction; but we might, on the other hand, suppose that Sidonius derived a tendency to assimilate from his Italian connexions. An interesting MS. of Primasius on the Apocalypse (Bodl. Douce 140) repeatedly has quemammodum. This MS. was probably written in England in the eighth or ninth century, but there is some reason to think that it was copied from a Merovingian exemplar. It is possible that Primasius him-



self may have written quenammodum. If so, his evidence would hold good for Africa in the time of Justinian. The practice of assimilating in this way might have been brought over from Italy. But the instances just quoted might suggest the conclusion that it was introduced into some French centre not later than the eighth century. I believe that quenammodum is a good test word, and that a fairly clear generalisation might be made out about it; but more material must be collected.

THE END.

STUDIA

BIBLICA ET ECCLESIASTICA:

A COLLECTION OF ESSAYS

IN

BIBLICAL AND PATRISTIC CRITICISM,

BY

MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY
OF OXFORD.

VOLUME I.

Already Published, price 10s. 6d.

CONTENTS.

- I. Recent Theories on the Origin and Nature of the Tetragrammaton.
 - S. R. DRIVER, D.D., Christ Church, Regius Professor of Hebrew, Dec. 3, 1883.
- II. The Light thrown by the Septuagint Version on the Books of Samuel.
 - F. H. Woods, B.D., Tutor of St. John's College, May 5, 1884.
- III. On the Dialects spoken in Palestine in the time of Christ.
 - AD. NEUBAUER, M.A., Exeter College, Reader in Rabbinical Hebrew and Sub-Librarian of the Bodleian Library, Feb. 18 and May 12, 1884.
- IV. On a new Theory of the Origin and Composition of the Synoptic Gospels proposed by G. Wetzel.
 - A. EDERSHEIM, M.A., Christ Church, Nov. 19, 1883.

P. T. O.



STUDIA BIBLICA

V. A Commentary on the Gospels attributed to Theophilus of Antioch.

W. Sanday, M.A., Exeter College, Dean Ireland's Professor of Exegesis, Oct. 29, 1883.

VI. The Text of the Codex Rossanensis (Σ).

W. SANDAY, Feb. 4, 1884.

VII. The Corbey St. James (ff), and its relation to other Latin versions, and to the original language of the Epistle.

JOHN WORDSWORTH, M.A., B.N.C., Oriel Professor of Interpretation, Feb. 11, 1884.

VIII. A Syriac Biblical Manuscript of the Fifth Century with special reference to its bearing on the text of the Syriac version of the Gospels.

G. H. Gwilliam, M.A., Fellow of Hertford College, May 26, 1884.

IX. The date of S. Polycarp's Martyrdom.

T. RANDELL, M.A., St. John's College, Feb. 25, 1884.

X. On some newly-discovered Temanite and Nabatacan Inscriptions.

Ad. Neubauer, Nov. 17, 1884.

XI. Some further Remarks on the Corbey St. James (ff).
W. SANDAY, Feb. 9, 1885.

VOLUME II.

Now ready, price 12s. 6d.

With a Facsimile of a page of the Vatican MS. of the Peshitto Gospels, dated A.D. 548.

CONTENTS.

 The Authorship and the Titles of the Psalms according to early Jewish authorities.

> Ad. Neubauer, M.A., Exeter College, Reader in Rabbinical Literature and Sub-Librarian of the Bodleian Library, &c., May 20, 1889.

- II. The Origin and Mutual Relation of the Synoptic Gospels.
 - F. H. Woods, B.D., Tutor of St. John's College; Nov. 16, 1886. Synoptic Table.
- III. The Day and Year of St. Polycarp's Martyrdom.
 - C. H. TURNER, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College; Oct. 31, 1887.
 - Appendix I. On a Paschal Homily printed in St. Chrysostom's works, ascribed by Ussher to A.D. 672, but really belonging to A.D. 387.
 - Appendix II. Passages from Ancient Writers who employ Kalendars of the Asiatic type, giving side by side a Roman and a native dating.
 - Note.—On the new matter contained in the Second Edition (1889) of Bishop Lightfoot's Apostolic Fathers (Part ii. St. Ignatius, St. Polycarp, vol. i. pp. 626-722).
- IV. The Clementine Homilies.
 - C. Bigg, D.D., late Student of Christ Church; Feb. 2, 1885.
- V. The Evidence of the Early Versions and Patristic Quotations on the Text of the Books of the New Testament.
 - LL. J. M. BEBB, M.A., Fellow of Brasenose College; June 13, 1888.
 - Note.-W. S.
- VI. The Ammonian Sections, Eusebian Canons, and Harmonizing Tables in the Syriac Tetraevangelium.
 - G. H. Gwilliam, B.D., Fellow of Hertford College; March 8, 1886. (With Facsimile.)

Appendix I.

Appendix II.

.. .. Note.

Additional Note.-W. S.



STUDIA BIBLICA ET ECCLESIASTICA.

VII. The Codex Amiatinus and its Birthplace.

H. J. WHITE, M.A., Christ Church; Dec. 3, 1889.

Appendix. On the Italian Origin of the Codex Amiatinus and the Localizing of Italian MSS.

W. Sanday, M.A., Exeter College, Dean Ireland's Professor of Exegesis; Nov. 29, 1889.

VOLUME III.

In the Press, for early publication.

CONTENTS.

I. A Study on the Mosaic Law.

S. R. DRIVER, D.D.

II. The Introduction of the Square Character in Biblical MSS., and an Account of the Earliest MSS. of the Bible. (With three Facsimiles.)

AD. NEUBAUER, M.A.

III. The Argument of Romans ix-xi.

C. Gore, M.A.

IV. The Materials for the Criticism of the Peshitto, with Specimens of the Syriac Massora.

G. H. GWILLIAM, B.D.

V. An Examination of the New Testament Quotations of Ephrem Syrus.

F. H. Woods, B.D.

VI. The Text of the Canons of Ancyra.

R. B. RACKHAM, M.A.

VII. The Cheltenham List of the Canonical Books and of the Writings of Cyprian.

W. SANDAY, M.A.

Appendix.

C. H. TURNER, M.A.

SELECT LIST

OF

Standard Theological Works

PRINTED AT

THE CLARENDON PRESS, OXFORD.

THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, ETC	page 1
FATHERS OF THE CHURCH, ETC.	,, 4
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, ETC	,, 5
ENGLISH THEOLOGY	,, 6
LITURGIOLOGY	8

1. THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, ETC.

- HEBREW, etc. Notes on the Text of the Book of Genesis. By G. J. Spurrell, M.A. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 12s. 6d.
- ---- Notes on the Hebrew
 Text of the Books of Samuel. By S. R.
 Driver, D.D. 8vo. 14s.
- Treatise on the use of the Tenses in Hebrew. By S. R. Driver, D.D. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- --- The Psalms in Hebrew without points. Stiff covers, 2s.
- —— Ecclesiasticus (XXXIX. 15-xlix. 11). The Original Hebrew, with Early Versions and English Translation, &c. Edited by A. E. Cowley, M. A., and Ad. Neubauer. M.A. 4to, 10s. 6d. net.
- The Book of Tobit.
 A Chaldee Text, from a unique MS.
 in the Bodleian Library; with other

- Rabbinical Texts, English Translations, and the Itala. Edited by Ad. Neubauer, M.A. Crown 8vo. 6a.
- A Hebrew and English
 Lexicon of the Old Testament, with an
 Appendix containing the Biblical
 Aramaic, based on the Thesaurus
 and Lexicon of Gesenius, by Francis
 Brown, D.D., S. R. Driver, D.D.,
 and C. A. Briggs, D.D.
- Parts I—V. Small 4to. 2s. 6d. each. Part VI, in the Press.
- Hebrew Accentuation of Psalms, Proverbs, and Job. By William Wickes, D.D. 8vo. 5s.
- The Book of Hebrew
 Roots, by Abu 'l-Walid Marwan ibn
 Janah, otherwise called Rabbi
 Yonah. Now first edited, with an
 appendix, by Ad. Neubauer. 4to.
 21. 7s. 6d.
- ETHIOPIC. The Book of Enoch. Translated from Dillmann's Ethiopic Text (emended and revised), and edited by R. H. Charles, M.A. 8vo. 16s.

Oxford: Clarendon Press. London: HENRY FROWDE, Amen Corner, E.C.

- GREEK. A Concordance to the Septuagint and the other Greek Versions of the Old Testament, including the Apocryphal Books. By the late Edwin Hatch, M.A., and H. A. Redpath, M.A. In six Parts, imperial 4to, 21s. each.
- Essays in Biblical Greek.

 By Edwin Hatch, M.A., D.D. 8vo.
 10s. 6d.
- Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt; site, Veterum Interpretum Graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum Fragmenta. Edidit Fridericus Field, A.M. 2 vols. 4to. 5l. 5s.
- Testamentum Graece. Antiquissimorum Codicum Textus in ordine parallelo dispositi. Accedit collatio Codicis Sinaitici. Edidit E. H. Hansell, S.T.B. Tomi III. 8vo. 248.
- Novum Testamentum
 Graece. Accedunt parallela S. Scripturae loca, etc. Edidit Carolus
 Lloyd, S.T.P.R. 18mo. 3s.

On writing paper, with wide margin, 7s. 6d.

- Testamentum Stephanicum, jam inde a Millii temporibus Oxoniensium manibus tritum; curante Gulmo. Sanday, A.M., S.T.P., LI.D. I. Collatio textus Westcottio-Hortiani (jure permisso) cum textu Stephanico anni MDL. II. Delectus lectionum notatu dignissimarum. III. Lectiones quaedam ex codicibus versionum Memphiticae Armeniacae Aethiopicae fusius illustratae. Extra fcap. 8vo, cloth. 3s. 6d.
- Novum Testamentum
 Gracce juxta Exemplar Millianum.
 18mo. 2s. 6d. On writing paper,
 with wide margin, 7s. 6d.

- GREEK. The Greek Testament, with the Readings adopted by the Revisers of the Authorised Version:—
 - (1) Pica type, with Marginal References. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d.
 - (2) Long Primer type. Fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.
 - (3) The same, on writing paper, with wide margin, 15s.
- —— The Parallel New Testament, Greek and English; being the Authorised Version, 1611; the Revised Version, 1881; and the Greek Text followed in the Revised Version. 8vo. 12s. 6d.
- Outlines of Textual Criticism applied to the New Testament. By C. E. Hammond, M.A. Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.
- A Greek Testament Primer. An Easy Grammar and Reading Book for the use of Students beginning Greek. By E. Miller, M.A. Second Edition. Extra fcap. 8vo, 2s; cloth, 3s. 6d.
- LATIN. Libri Psalmorum

 Versio antiqua Latina, cum Paraphrasi

 Anglo-Saxonica. Edidit B. Thorpe,

 F.A.S. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- Texts: No. I. The Gospel according to St. Matthew, from the St. Germain MS. (g₁). Edited with Introduction and Appendices by John Wordsworth, D.D. Small 4to, stiff covers, 6s.
- Texts: No. II. Portions of the Gospels according to St. Mark and St. Matthew, from the Bobbio MS. (k), etc. Edited by John Wordsworth, D.D., W. Sanday, M.A., D.D., and H. J. White, M.A. Small 4to, stiff covers, 21s.

- LATIN. Old-Latin Biblical Texts: No. III. The Four Gospels, from the Munich MS. (q), now numbered Lat. 6224 in the Royal Library at Munich. With a Fragment from St. John in the Hof-Bibliothek at Vienna (Cod. Lat. 502). Edited, with the aid of Tischendorf's transcript (under the direction of the Bishop of Salisbury), by H. J. White, M.A. Small 4to, stiff covers, 12s. 6d.
- Nouum Testamentum Domini
 Nostri Iesu Christi Latine, secundum Editionem S. Hieronymi.
 Ad Codicum Manuscriptorum fidem
 recensuit Iohannes Wordsworth,
 S.T.P., Episcopus Sarisburiensis.
 In operis societatem adsumto
 Henrico Iuliano White, A.M. 4to.
 - Fasc. I. Euangelium secundum Mattheum. 12s. 6d.
 - Fasc. II. Euangelium secundum Marcum. 7s. 6d.
 - Fasc. III. Euangelium secundum Lucam. 128.6d.
 - Fasc. IV. Euangelium secundum Johannem. 10s. 6d.
- OLD-FRENCH. Libri Psalmorum Versio antiqua Gallica e Cod. ms. in Bibl. Bolleiana adservato, una cum Versione Metrica aliisque Monumentis pervetustis. Nunc primum descripsit et edidit Franciscus Michel, Phil. Doc. 8vo. 1cs. 6d.
- ENGLISH. The Holy Bible in the Earliest English Versions, made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his followers: edited by Forshall and Mudden. 4 vols. Royal 4to. 31.3s.
- Also reprinted from the above, with Introduction and Glossary by W. W. Skeat, Litt. D.
 - The Books of Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon. 3s. 6d.
 - The New Testament. 6s.

- ENGLISH. The Holy Bible,
 Revised Version *.
 - Cheap Editions for School Use.
 - Revised Bible. Pearl 16mo, cloth boards, 1s. 6d.
 - Revised New Testament. Nonpareil 32mo, 6d.; Brevier 16mo, 1s.; Long Primer 8vo, 1s. 6d.
 - * The Revised Version is the joint property of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.
- The Oxford Bible for Teachers, containing the Holy Scriptures, together with a new, enlarged, and illustrated edition of the Oxford Helps to the Study of the Bible, comprising Introductions to the several Books, the History and Antiquities of the Jews, the results of Modern Discoveries, and the Natural History of Palestine, with copious Tables, Concordance and Indices, and a series of Maps. Prices in various sizes and bindings from 7s. 6d. to 21. 2s.
- of David, and certain Canticles, with a Translation and Exposition in English, by Richard Rolle of Hampole. Edited by H. R. Bramley, M.A. With an Introduction and Glossary. Demy 8vo. 1l. 1s.
- —— Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica. Essays in Biblical and Patristic Criticism, and kindred subjects. By Members of the University of Oxford.
 - Vol. I. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
 - Vol. II. 8vo. 12s. 6d.
 - Vol. III. 8vo. 16s.
 - Vol. IV. 8vo. 128.6d.

FATHERS OF THE CHURCH.

ENGLISH. The Book of Wisdom: the Greek Text, the Latin Vulgate, and the Authorised English Version; with an Introduction, Critical Apparatus, and a Commentary. By W. J. Deane, M.A. 4to. 12s. 6d. Mark in Gothic, according to the translation made by Wulfila in the Fourth Century. Edited, with a Grammatical Introduction and Glossarial Index, by W. W. Skeat, Litt. D. Extra fcap. 8vo. 4s.

2. FATHERS OF THE CHURCH, ETC.

- St. Athanasius: Orations against the Arians. With an account of his Life by William Bright, D.D. Crown 8vo. 9s.
- Historical Writings, according to the Benedictine Text. With an Introduction by W. Bright, D.D. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- St. Augustine: Select Anti-Pelagian Treatises, and the Acts of the Second Council of Orange. With an Introduction by William Bright, D.D. Crown 8vo. 9s.
- St. Basil: The Book of St.

 Basil on the Holy Spirit. A Revised
 Text, with Notes and Introduction
 by C. F. H. Johnston, M.A. Crown
 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- Canons of the First Four General Councils of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon. With Notes by W. Bright, D.D. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- Catenae Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum. Edidit J. A. Cramer, S.T.P. Tomi VIII. 8vo. 2l. 4s.
- Clementis Alexandrini Opera, ex recensione Guil. Dindorfii. Tomi IV. 8vo. 3l.

- Cyrilli Archiepiscopi Alexandrini in XII Prophetas. Edidit P. E. Pusey, A.M. Tomi II. 8vo. 2l. 2s.
- —— in D. Joannis Evangelium. Accedunt Fragmenta Varia necnon Tractatus ad Tiberium Diaconum Duo. Edidit post Aubertum P. E. Pusey, A.M. Tomi III. 8vo. 2l. 5s.
- —— Commentarii in Lucae
 Evangelium quae supersunt Syriace. E
 mss. apud Mus. Britan. edidit R.
 Payne Smith, A.M. 4to. 11. 28.
- The same, translated by R. Payne Smith, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo.
- Ephraemi Syri, Rabulae Episcopi Edesseni, Balaei, aliorumque Opera Selecta. E Codd. Syriacis mss. in Museo Britannico et Bibliotheca Bodleiana asservatis primus edidit J. J. Overbeck. 8vo. 11. 1s.
- Eusebii Pamphili Evangelicae Praeparationis Libri XV. Ad Codd. mss. recensuit T. Gaisford, S.T.P. Tomi IV. 8vo. 1l. 10s.
- Evangelicae Demonstrationis Libri X. Recensuit T. Gaisford, S.T.P. Tomi II. 8vo. 15s.
- contra Hieroclem et Marcellum Libri. Recensuit T. Gaisford, S.T.P. 8vo. 7s.

Oxford: Clarendon Press

- Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History, according to the text of Burton, with an Introduction by W. Bright, D.D. Crown 8vo. 85.6d.
- Evagrii Historia Ecclesiastica, ex recensione H. Valesii. 8vo. 4s.
- Irenaeus: The Third Book of St. Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons, against Heresies. With short Notes and a Glossary by H. Deane, B.D. Crown 8vo. 5s. 6d.
- Patrum Apostolicorum, S. Clementis Romani, S. Ignatii, S. Polycarpi, quae supersunt. Edidit Guil. Jacobson, S.T.P.R. Tomi II. 8vo. 1l. 1s.
- Philo. About the Contemplative Life; or, the Fourth Book of the Treatise concerning Virtues. Critically edited, with a defence of its genuineness. By Fred. C. Conybeare, M.A. 8vo. 14s.
- Reliquiae Sacrae secundi tertique sacculi. Recensuit M. J. Routh, S.T.P. Tomi V. 8vo. 11. 5s.

- Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Opuscula. Recensuit M. J. Routh, S.T.P. Tomi II. 8vo. 10s.
- Socrates' Ecclesiastical History, according to the Text of Hussey, with an Introduction by William Bright, D.D. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- Sozomeni Historia Ecclesiastica. Edidit R. Hussey, S.T.B. Tomi III. 8vo. 15s.
- Tertulliani Apologeticus adrersus Gentes pro Christianis. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by T. Herbert Bindley, B.D. Crown 8vo. 6s.
- de Praescriptione

 Haereticorum: ad Martyras: ad Scapulam. Edited, with Introduction and
 Notes, by T. Herbert Bindley, B.D.
 Crown 8vo. 6s.
- Theodoreti Ecclesiasticae Historiae Libri V. Recensuit T. Gaisford, S.T.P. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

3. ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, ETC.

- Adamnani Vita S. Columbae. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary, by J. T. Fowler, M.A., D.C.L. Crown 8vo, half-bound, 8s. 6d. net.
- Baedae Historia Ecclesiastica.

 A New Edition. Edited, with Introduction, English Notes, &c., by C. Plummer, M.A. 2 vols. Crown 8vo. 21s. net.
- Bigg. The Christian Platonists of Alexandria. By Charles Bigg, D.D. Svo. 10s. 6d.
- Bingham's Antiquities of the Christian Church, and other Works. 10 vols. 8vo. 3l. 3s.
- Bright. Chapters of Early English Church History. By W. Bright, D.D. Second Edition. 8vo. 12s.

- Burnet's History of the Reformation of the Church of England. A new Edition, by N. Pocock, M.A. 7 vols. 8vo. 11. 10s.
- Cardwell's Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England; being a Collection of Injunctions, Declarations, Orders, Articles of Inquiry, &c. from 1546 to 1716.

 2 vols. 8vo. 18s.
- Councils and Ecclesiastical
 Documents relating to Great Britain and
 Ireland. Edited, after Spelman and
 Wilkins, by A. W. Haddan, B.D.,
 and W. Stubbs, D.D. Vols, I and
 III. Medium 8vo, each 1l. 1s.
 - Vol. II, Part I. Med. 8vo, 10s. 6d. Vol. II, Part II. Church of Ireland; Memorials of St. Patrick. Stiff covers, 3s. 6d.

Fuller's Church History of Britain. Edited by J. S. Brewer, M.A. 6 vols. 8vo. 11. 19s.

Gibson's Synodus Anglicana.
Edited by E. Cardwell, D.D. 8vo.
6s.

Hamilton's (Archbishop John)
Catechism, 1552. Edited, with Introduction and Glossary, by Thomas
Graves Law, Librarian of the Signet
Library, Edinburgh. With a Preface by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d.

Hussey. Rise of the Papal Power, traced in three Lectures. By Robert Hussey, B.D. Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

John, Bishop of Ephesus. The Third Part of his Ecclesiastical History. [In Syriac.] Now first edited by William Cureton, M.A. 4to. 1l. 12s.

The same, translated by R. Payne Smith, M.A. 8vo. 10s.

Le Neve's Fusti Ecclesiae

Anglicanae. Corrected and continued
from 1715 to 1853 by T. Duffus
Hardy. 3 vols. 8vo. 11. 1s.

Noelli (A.) Catechismus sive prima institutio disciplinaque Pietatis

Christianae Latine explicata. Editio nova cura Guil. Jacobson, A.M. 8vo. 5s. 6d.

Ommanney. A Critical Dissertation on the Athanasian Creed. By G. D. W. Ommanney, M.A. 8vo, 16s.

Records of the Reformation.

The Dirorce, 1527-1533. Mostly now for the first time printed from MSS. in the British Museum and other Libraries. Collected and arranged by N. Pocock, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 16s.

Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum. The Reformation of Ecclesiastical Laws, as attempted in the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Elizabeth. Edited by E. Cardwell, D.D. 8vo. 6s. 6d.

Shirley. Some Account of the Church in the Apostolic Age. By W.W. Shirley, D.D. Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

Stubbs. Registrum Sacrum
Anglicanum. An attempt to exhibit
the course of Episcopal Succession
in England. By W. Stubbs, D.D.
Small 4to. 8s. 6d.

4. ENGLISH THEOLOGY.

Bradley. Lectures on the Book of Job. By George Granville Bradley, D.D., Dean of Westminster. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Lectures on Ecclesiastes.

By the same. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.

Bull's Works, with Nelson's Life. Edited by E. Burton, D.D. 8 vols. 8vo. 2l. 9s. Burnet's Exposition of the XXXIX Articles. 8vo. 7s.

Butler's Works. Divided into Sections; with Sectional Headings; an Index to each volume; and some occasional Notes; also Prefatory Matter. Edited by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone. 2 vols. Medium 8vo. 11.8s.

---- 2 vols. 8vo. 11s.

- Comber's Companion to the Temple; or a Help to Devotion in the use of the Common Prayer. 7 vols. 8vo. 1l. 11s. 6d.
- Cranmer's Works. Collected and arranged by H. Jenkyns, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College. 4 vols. 8vo. 1l. 10s.
- Enchiridion Theologicum

 Anti-Romanum.
 - Vol. I. Jeremy Taylor's Dissuasive from Popery, and Treatise on the Real Presence, 8vo. 8s.
 - Vol. II. Barrow on the Supremacy of the Pope, with his Discourse on the Unity of the Church. 8vo. 7s. 6d.
 - Vol. III. Tracts selected from Wake, Patrick, Stillingfleet, Clagett, and others. 8vo. 11s.
- Greswell's Harmonia Evangelica. Fifth Edition. 8vo. 9s. 6d.
- Hall's Works. Edited by P. Wynter, D.D. 10 vols. 8vo. 3l. 3s.
- Heurtley. Harmonia Symbolica: Creeds of the Western Church.
 By C. Heurtley, D.D. 8vo. 6s. 6d.
- Homilies appointed to be read in Churches. Edited by J. Griffiths, D.D. 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- Hooker's Works, with his Life by Walton, arranged by John Keble, M.A. Seventh Edition. Revised by R. W. Church, M.A., Dean of St. Paul's, and F. Paget, D.D. 3 vols. medium 8vo. 11. 16s.
- ----- the Text as arranged by J. Keble, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. 11s.

- Jackson's (Dr. Thomas) Works.
 12 vols. 8vo. 3L 6s.
- Jewel's Works. Edited by R. W. Jelf, D.D. 8 vols. 8vo. 11. 10s.
- Martineau. A Study of Religion: its Sources and Contents. By James Martineau, D.D. Second Edition. 2 vols. Crown 8vo. 15s.
- Patrick's Theological Works. 9 vols. 8vo. 11. 1s.
- Pearson's Exposition of the Creed. Revised and corrected by E. Burton, D.D. Sixth Edition. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
- Minor Theological Works.

 Edited with a Memoir, by Edward
 Churton, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. 10s.
- Sanderson's Works. Edited by W. Jacobson, D.D. 6 vols. 8vo. 11. 10s.
- Stillingfleet's Origines Sacrae.
 2 vols. 8vo. 9s.
- —— Rational Account of the Grounds of Protestant Religion; being a vindication of Archbishop Laud's Relation of a Conference, &c. 2 vols. 8vo. 10s.
- Wall's History of Infant Baptism. Edited by H. Cotton, D.C.L. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 1s.
- Waterland's Works, with Life, by Bp. Van Mildert. A new Edition, with copious Indexes. 6 vols. 8vo. 2l. 11s.

LITURGIOLOGY.

8

Wheatly's Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer. 8vo. 5s.

Wyclif. A Catalogue of the Original Works of John Wyclif. By W. W. Shirley, D.D. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

Wyclif. Select English Works.

By T. Arnold, M.A. 3 vols. 8vo.
11. 1s.

— Trialogus. With the Supplement now first edited. By Gotthard Lechler. 8vo. 7s.

5. LITURGIOLOGY.

Cardwell's Two Books of Common Prayer, set forth by authority in the Reign of King Edward VI, compared with each other. Third Edition. 8vo. 7s.

— History of Conferences on the Book of Common Prayer from 1551 to 1690. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

The Gelasian Sacramentary.

Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae. Edited, with Introduction,
Critical Notes, and Appendix, by
H. A. Wilson, M.A. Medium 8vo.
18s.

Liturgies, Eastern and
Western. Edited, with Introductions and Appendices, by F. E.
Brightman, M.A., on the Basis of
the former Work by C. E. Hammond, M.A.

Vol. I. Eastern Liturgies. Demy 8vo. 11. 1s.

Helps to the Study of the Book of Common Prayer: Being a Companion to Church Worship. By the Very Rev. W. R. Stephens, D.D., Dean of Winchester. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

Leofric Missal, The, as used in the Cathedral of Exeter during the Episcopate of its first Bishop, A.D. 1050-1072; together with some Account of the Red Book of Derby, the Missal of Robert of Jumièges, &c. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by F. E. Warren, B.D., F.S.A. 4to, half-morocco, 1l. 15s.

Maskell. Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England, according to the uses of Sarum, York, Hereford, and Bangor, and the Roman Liturgy arranged in parallel columns, with preface and notes. By W. Maskell, M.A. Third Edition. 8vo. 15s.

Warren. The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church. By F. E. Warren, B.D. 8vo. 14s.

Orford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

LONDON: HENRY FROWDE

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE, AMEN CORNER, E.C.

